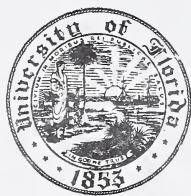
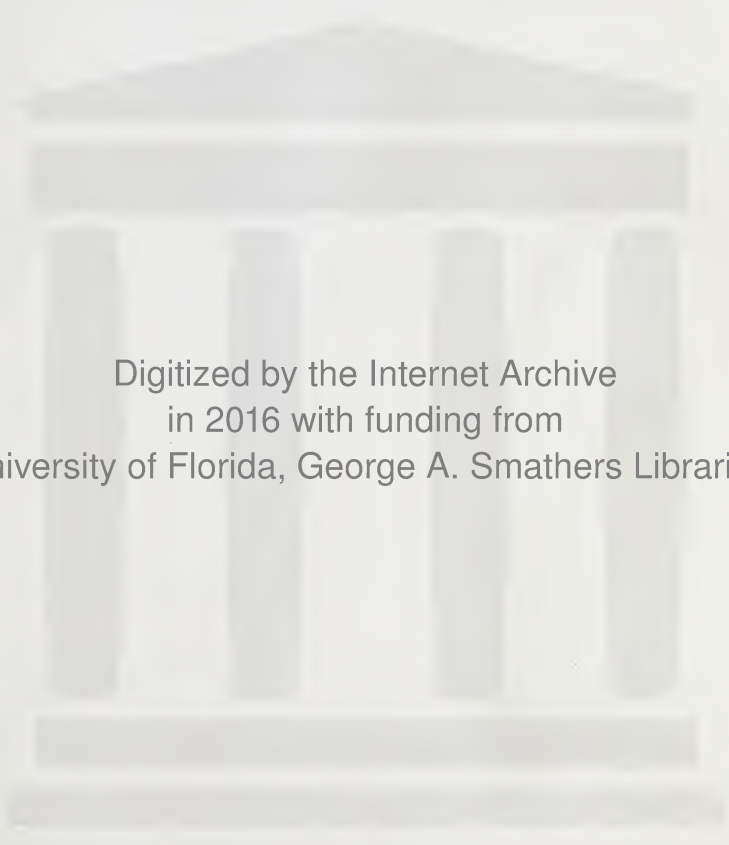


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LANCASTER AND CHESTER.

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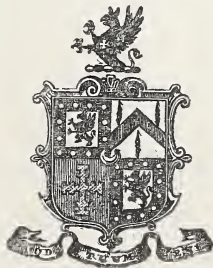
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CONTAINING,

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- II. RENTALE DE COKERSAND: BEING THE BURSAR'S RENT
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IN laying before the Members a Third Volume of MISCELLANIES, the Council of the CHETHAM SOCIETY have the satisfaction of announcing that materials are already in preparation for a Fourth; and they take this opportunity of inviting contributions from the Members and other persons interested in antiquarian pursuits. They may repeat what they have already expressed in the Advertisement to the First Volume, that nothing which tends to throw light on the habits, customs, and institutions of our race can be uninteresting to those who make mankind their study. Thus old wills, letters, deeds, authentic examples of early heraldry, materials for elucidating topography, or family, county, and general history, examples of the progress of language and of the arts, may each and all find their appropriate places in these Volumes.

The Poll Book of Manchester (No. VII. of this volume) was preserved in the Muniment Room of Sir OSWALD MOSLEY, Bart., the Lord of the Manor of Manchester, and presented by him to the CHETHAM SOCIETY.

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WILLIAM LANGTON,

HONORARY SECRETARY.

ON THE
SOUTH LANCASHIRE
DIALECT.

BY

THOMAS HEYWOOD, ESQ., F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXI.

CORRIGENDA.

- Page 5, add to Abbreviations, *Wil.*, for Wilbraham's Cheshire Glossary.
- Page 8, line 15, after "appended Glossary," omit the rest of the sentence.
- Page 10, line 8 from bottom, *for* "ought" *read* "aught."
- Page 18, line 5, omit the repetition of "os weet."
- Page 19, line 12 from bottom, *for* "yoodn, you was," *read* "you would."
- Page 22, line 4 from bottom, *for* "curded" *read* "carded."
- Page 23, line 17, *for* "vol. iii." *read* "vol. iv."
- Page 24, line 9 from bottom, *for* "last 4to." *read* "first 4to."
- Page 28, lines 10 and 11, *after* "(lacet, Fr.)" *read* "unlaight."
- Page 28, line 3 from bottom, *for* "crowming" *read* "cromming."
- Page 35, line 5, *for* "flower" *read* "flour."
- Page 41, line 16, *for* "Slackthwaite" *read* "Staithwaite in the parish of Almondbury."
- Page 43, line 4, note 16, *for* "them" *read* "it."
- Page 43, line 3, note 17, *for* "no relations" *read* "no near relations."
- Page 58, line 29, *for* "exhuberant" *read* "exuberant."
- Page 69, line 8 of note 36, *for* "Thomas" *read* "Robert."
- Page 83, *in voce* "Pot baws" *dele* "46."

ON THE SOUTH LANCASHIRE DIALECT.

THE Language of a district and its History although seldom altogether elucidating each other are too closely interwoven to be separated. Lancashire had no existence in its present limits until long after the geography of its dialects was fixed. Camden, somewhat conjecturally, mentions a Saxon Lancashire, and Baines dates the county from the returns of a sheriff temp. Stephen. But divisions of less importance than our shires then bore the name, and it is well here to dismiss the idea of the County Palatine in its present entirety, and, with a view to the language, examine what we gather from writers of authority of the parts so strangely united to form an appanage and not to benefit the inhabitants.

Lappenberg, removed from our troublesome local prejudices, considers the British sway from the Clyde to Lands-End along the western shores of greater continuance than we suppose. The difficulty is as to the district between the Lune and the Mersey, where this long Keltish line was first broken by the Anglo Saxons. "An obscurity still more dense than that over Wales involves the district lying to the north of that country comprised under the name of Cumbria." (Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 122.) Palgrave, (*History of England*, p. 46,) treating of the seventh century, writes: "The Britons maintained possession of Cumbria from Dunbarton to the southern boundaries of Lancashire, whilst the ridge of mountains, not unaptly termed the British Apennines, separated

them from Northumbria." The tradition of the British kingdoms long remained, and in the Chester Plays the shepherd binds together the space "from comely Conway unto Clyde." In A.D. 617 the Saxons conquered Elmet near Leeds called a portion of Cumbria, but whether then possessed by Saxons or Kelts the name of the ruler as Lappenberg remarks does not enable us to determine. This was the beginning of the invasion of Lancashire, and the entrance is therefore through the portion of country in which the Craven dialect obtains. We have thus early two divisions in the modern county indicated; *firstly*, north of the Lune, following the destinies of Cumberland and Westmoreland, (1) Keltish, (2) Scottish, to which last the tongue has a close affinity; *secondly*, between the Lune and the Ribble and to the south-east of the latter river, a district which for six centuries was connected with Yorkshire, as appears in Domboc and in the feudal superiority exercised by the Lacies from Pontefract.

But what was the fate of South Lancashire, with a dialect materially differing from those we have mentioned, and with a diphthongal system removed also from theirs — and Grimm tells us "that the chief characteristics of a dialect depend on the present or absent diphthongs"? (*D. G.*¹ vol. i. 7.)

¹ ABBREVIATIONS:

Archæ., Archaeologia.

A. S., Anglo Saxon.

An. Riv., Ancrer Riwe, A.D. 1250.

Bam., Bamford's Lancashire Glossary.

Bos., Bosworth.

Ches. Pl., Chester Plays.

Cot., Cotgrave's Dictionary.

Cov. Mys., Coventry Mysteries.

Cr., Craven Glossary.

D. G., Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik.

Dief., Diefenbach's Lexicon.

D. S., Grimm's Deutsche Sprache.

Fr., French.

Hal., Hallamshire Glossary.

Halli., Halliwell's Dictionary.

Jn., Jamieson's Dictionary and Supplement.

N., North.

O. H. G., Old High German.

Pal., Palgrave.

Pol. Songs, Political Songs, John to Edward II., Camden Society.

Prompt. Par., Promptorium Parvulorum, edited by Way.

Q. R., Quarterly Review.

R. F., Rache Felley, 1853.

We should have passed over the Keltish period in South Lancashire with little remark had not the indefatigable Welsh etymologists endeavoured to prove, by reciting words long habitués of general Dictionaries or of remote Glossaries, the Cambrian origin of our tongue. We will admit that we cannot show when the Anglo Saxons possessed themselves of the country between the Ribble and the Mersey, and that we are also unable to estimate the influence which the Kelts subsequently exercised there. Higden, Lappenberg (vol. i. p. 125), Palgrave (*England*, p. 45), regard the conquered British as living with the Anglo Saxons in great numbers and with equality of rights. The resolving however the question as to the share the British had in the existing dialect is matter of fact and not of inference, and thus treated we see no evidence of their interference. That the Welsh have adopted many Saxon and English words is clear. Dr. Johnson, dealing with "pluck," says: "I know not whether derived from the English or the English from the Erse;" and Mr. Lhuyd, in a somewhat hardy appropriation of *helan*, to cover, observes: "Perhaps we received it from the English; it is a word generally used in North Wales."

Are we then to regard the vehemence with which the Welsh affirm so much of most languages proceeds from them as misplaced? Are *addle* and *frying-pan* not Cambrian? and is *Cwr dha* the root of *Cervisia*,² as our Lord Chief Justice records? The probability is that the Keltish enters into all European languages. "Without doubt the third people of European history are the Kelts," (*D. S.*, p. 115); and in their influence on language hardly thus to be post-

Rich., Richardson's Dictionary.

S. L., South Lancashire.

T. B., Tim Bobbin, 1753.

T. J., Todd's Johnson.

W. & C., Westmoreland and
Cumberland Glossary.

Wt., Wright's Dictionary.

² "Cervisia" (or cerevisia) quasi Cereris vis in aqua." *Prompt. Par.*, in voce *ale*. Cervisia sine lupulo. Minsheu. Is *Cwr dha* thus restricted? Bishop Swinfeld's Accounts show hops in beer were unknown in 1289. In 1440 we find beer described as cervisia humulina, *Prompt. Par.*, another of the many proofs of the incorrectness of the old distich as to the date of the introduction of hops, &c.

poned to the Greeks and Romans. That in the period when the Kelts were overrunning Europe and settling in masses on the plains of Italy, France, Spain and Germany, language obtained those common features which we can now so little account for is indisputable. But the Keltish modern etymological pretensions are so extravagant that even the philosophical Grimm shrinks from them, and that in a most unphilosophical manner. He has to disembarass the German language from the imputation of having a Keltish origin, and as the Kimbrians were located amongst Lithuanians (whose speech is denominated *kostbare*) and Finns (dear to the great critic), Slaves, Scandinavians, &c., the identity of Keltae and Kimbri is denied,³ and a malediction directed against any German who shall declare it to be otherwise. Dr. Latham's expedient of doubting the authority of Tacitus beyond the Elbe did not it seems occur to Grimm.

In Domboc, South Lancashire is part of Cheshire; this may be taken as a prolongation of the Danish rule, Chester having been one of their most important boroughs and the evidences of their dominion being very decided in the names of places on the right bank of the Mersey. Anterior to this was South Lancashire a portion of Northumberland or of Mercia? and were the divisions of Yorkshire-Lancashire and Cheshire-Lancashire thus early shadowed forth? In Sir F. Palgrave's Map of England after Alfred's treaty with the Danes A.D. 884, the Ribble is the limit of Mercia, and the district beyond is set down as Cumbria. Whatever

³ *Eundem Germaniæ sinum proximi oceano Cimbri tenent parva nunc civitas sed gloria ingens.* (Ger. 37.) There are also the Aestii at the mouth of the Vistula distinguished by a *sermo Britannicæ propior.* (Ger. 45.) Neuere kritik irre geleitet durch Kimmerier und Cymru (Cambria) hat sie zu Kelten stempeln und dem vaterland einen seiner ältesten Zeugen rauben wollen, waren die Kimbern Keltisch so wurden dadurch selbst die deutscheit der Teutonen ihrer gefährten verdächtigt, (*D. S.*, p. 441). At the peril of inducing such a catastrophe we may remark, Tacitus (s. 37) held the two people as the same and so recounts their exploits. Sharon Turner (*History of the Saxons*, vol. i. pp. 44-53) has collected various authorities proving the Keltae to be Kimmerians. See also Niebuhr, vol. ii. pp. 588-590; Arnold's *Rome*, vol. i. pp. 519-523; Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 6.

changes subsequently occurred Northumbria and Mercia could hardly have been revived. Amidst the histories and local traditions of wars in earlier Saxon times we find the truth of Milton's resemblance of the doings of those bellicose days to the aerial transactions of kites and crows, and especially in the want of all trace of what was done. The *Saxon Chronicle* sets down Manchester in Northumbria; this must have been in some evanescent period of success and not when Whalley was attached to the Mercian diocese of Lichfield. We have in vain endeavoured to fix a period when Northumbria could have possessed South Lancashire, and we think the Saxon two northernmost kingdoms have a much stronger relation to the east than to the west of the island.

A few dates will show the fate of what is now South Lancashire after the Conquest and also render clear the cause of the lingual separation of Middle and South Lancashire. Roger of Poitou obtained West Derby, Salford and a large part of Leyland from the Conqueror; Ildebert de Lacy received Blackburn. We find these divisions described at various times as shires, wapentakes and hundreds. For imperial purposes South Lancashire was in 1086 governed from Chester, and probably this continued for nearly two centuries and a half afterwards. Roger of Poitou's possessions were resumed by the Crown in 1102, and granted early in Stephens' reign to the second Earl of Chester. On the death of the third Earl (A.D. 1232) his South Lancashire property went to his fourth sister, wife of William de Ferrers Earl of Derby. In 1266 this estate again reverted to the Crown and was granted to Edmund Crouchback, and on his resignation of the Earldom of Chester and being created Earl of Lancaster the county assumed its existing proportions. So John Selden affirmed, his opinion being strengthened by a judge's year book temp. Edw. III. The ancient connexion of South Lancashire and Cheshire is confirmed by their dialects which appear to have had more in common in the days of Ray than in those of Wilbraham.

The South Lancashire vernacular is common between the Ribble

and the Mersey, not equally distributed, and with diminished intensity affecting the Mercian counties of Chester, Derby and Stafford. It is so unfixed that not only colloquially but in books intended carefully to set down the dialect the pronoun *I* is given as *I, E, he, eh, aw, oi*; and Collier's own *Rachdaw*, possessing his shrine and the celebrated church steps, is actually converted into *Rachde* by its own "felley." We have *ther* and *there* in the same sentence, and endless similar anomalies; and, to crown all, *Tim Bobbin* is "fettled and made gradely." What would a Scotchman think of the man who proposed to do this for Burns or Scott? As establishing the South Lancashire dialect in 1753 Collier's book is of the greatest value. The use made of it by Jamieson, Rev. W. Carr and other exponents of provincial speech is not altogether correct; they do not seem to have read *Tim Bobbin*, but to have extracted from the appended Glossary, which is not Collier's work and contains many words unauthorised by him, although that Glossary is written by one who evidently prepared himself for the task. Our South Lancashire speech, neglected as it has been etymologically, is second to none in England in the vestiges which it contains of the tongue of other days. Its diphthongs are Anglo Saxon whilst in 1753 it abounded in their words. The modern books in our "Leod-cwyde" exaggerate its difficulties by purposeless misspelling, thus: *kole, blak, saime, farely, noboddi, minnit, notis, forin kuntry*, and endless other divergences from the conventional mode of writing without affecting the pronunciation are to be deprecated. Still these books, in setting forth the humour and the genial character of our peasantry and in delivering to us the experience of observant and competent persons as to existing words and phrases, cannot be too highly estimated.

The South Lancashire dialect is in its construction English, retaining many archaic words but with few of the flexions of the Anglo Saxons. The making the plurals of verbs and of nouns in *en* are common oral peculiarities of Teutonic affinity and immediately derived from the period when Saxon was merging into English. Few of our more remarkable words are strictly belong-

ing to us but are either to be found in Dictionaries old or new as common to the nation or in Glossaries of other and often remote districts. *Pr*, *I wur*, for *I was*, prevails in Craven, which has the Yorkshire *I is* (we say *aw'm*). Yet *wur*, looking to the Scandinavian *var* and the German *war*, requires no explanation, the Anglo Saxon *was* being the irregularity. (See Bromley's *Grammar* on "were," p. 113.) Tutoying still pervades South Lancashire and under the rules eccentric as they are to which that practice accommodates itself in France; but, judging from the *Aelfrici Colloquium*, not those of the Anglo Saxons. It is used (1) by a superior to an inferior; (2) for abuse and insult; (3) for endearment. Of the *first*, in *Tim Bobbin's* prologue the author addressing his book as "thou" and the book replying in the second person plural is a sustained example; as also in the dialogue following the man uses the second person singular towards the woman, but she replying adopts "you" throughout. *Secondly*: any day in our streets the power of *thou* to convey the feelings of the irate may be estimated:

If thou thous't him some thrice it shall not be amiss.

Twelfth Night.

"Go luke theaw rapskallion." "E theau dusnt let me o bee wee thee bukes awl ko o poleese to thee." (*R. F.*) *Thirdly*: endearment;

God bless tho, mo lass; aw'll go whoam,
An aw'll kiss thee an' th' childer o reawnd;
Thae knows, at wheerever aw roam,
Awm fain to get back to th' owd greawnd.

Waugh.

The Saxon double negative is rife amongst us; "un never said naut," "nout noather," "tey-in no pertikler notice o nout," (*T. B.*); and "au cuddent see no moore ov his marluks," (*R. F.*)

In strong preterites we abound; but we can only enumerate a portion of them, greatly restraining ourselves as to their derivations. *Bet*, did beat, in the sense of surpassed; *bode*, per aphæresin, for abode; *bote*, did bite (*Robert the Devyll*, vol. i. pp.

8, 9, Pickering; *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, p. 48; *Faerie Queene*, pp. 2, 5); *brad*, spread, opened (*T. B.*); "brad meh een," "bokes unbrad," (*Pol. Songs*, E 1, p. 156); *browt*, brought; this rejection of the guttural is congenial to South Lancashire. It is true we have Leigh pronounced Leck, but there we seem to exhaust our guttural tendencies; witness thowt, meety, reet, leet, seete, fretnt, sowte, &c. *Chez*, choose; *clum*, clomb; *crope*, crept (*T. B.* pp. 30, 37, 41, 45, edit. 1818); *cumm*, *cumn*, came; *dang*, struck, *dung* part. (*T. B.* p. 49); *drad*, feared; *driv*, drove (*T. B.* p. 55); *eet*, ate, eat; *feel*, fell; "His scrunt wig feel off," (*T. B.* p. 37); *flote*, scolded (flat, *A. S.*); "Mezzil feose hearink summon o whooup startit to his feet, flote none, boh gran like a foomurt dog," (*T. B.*); *fot*, *fotcht*, fetched (*fatte*, *Pol. Songs*, p. 152, *fet* or *fette*, *Gam. Gurton*; *Rois. Doister and Cynthia's Revels*); "Thenne thay fochet further a boke," (*Hale MS.* p. 75); *fotch*, fetch (*T. B.* pp. 21, 37, 49, 50, 55); *fun*, *fund*, found (*T. B.* p. 44, &c.); *ga*, *gen*, *gan*, *gav*, gave (*T. B.* pp. 20, 30, 41); *gin*, London (Tooke, p. 81); *gaight* (*S. L.*) gave it; "I gan a glent into th' shippin" (*T. B.*, *gan* is in old English began or to go); *geete*, got (*T. B.* pp. 28, 30, 34, 40, 55, 57; also *geet*, *S. L.*, gave); "So I geet up be skrike o dey" (*T. B.* p. 25); *gran*, grinned; "So I gran an I thrutcht" (*T. B.* p. 29). *Ha*, *han*, *hon*, *hav*, have; *height*, have it; *hed*, heeded (*Bam.*); *het*, hight (*R. of Glouc.*; *Rich.*); "But I freatn heaw he het" (*T. B.* p. 31). *Kest*, cast (*Mark* xii. Wyc). *Lad*, led (*Chauc.* C. P. t. 1, p. 99; *Man of Laws Tale*; *Romaunt of the Rose*, vol. ii. p. 225); *lee*, lay; *leep* or *lope*, leapt; *mede*, made; *ned*, needed; "On os prime veel on pestil as ned be toucht" (*T. B.* p. 39). *Owt*, ought, owed; *quoke*, (?) quaked; *raught* ("rhift," *Blackpool Glossary*), belched; *rid*, to place two things apart (*Bam.*):

Now, now he dies, rid him away, — *Revenger's Tragedy*.

Saigh, saw (also *seed*), "Hoos the finest ot ew'ry saigh, said he," (*T. B.* . 42),

I was affray'd

The aungel whan I say. — *Cov. Mys.* p. 356.

"And he say noise and men wepinge" (*Mark* v. Wyc.); also *saygh*, *seighe*, sigh; *scrat*, scratched; *seete*, set; *shad*, spillt, excelled; "Yo meetn shadn wrynot eh tellink this tele" (*T. B.* p. 51); *skam*, skimmed (*Bam.*); *slat* or *slatt*, dirtied, wet, spillt; *slattert*, spilled; *slat* or *sleeat* (slete, Ray), to set on dogs; *slattern* may be a figurative meaning of *slat* and is an idle sloven (*Rich.*); examples associate it with dirt, and *sladde* (*Icel.*), *vir habitu et moribus indecorus*, approximates to this sense, but wet is its true signification; *slaid* (*Scot.*), a hollow with a stream; *slaed* (*A. S.*), "a slade a plain," Bos.; *vallis*, Somner; hence our "slood a cart track." Two woods in our own neighbourhood still bear this name, they are both on miry ground, "The slad wood."

Some go streyght thyder

Be it slaty or slyder.—*Skelton Elyn. Rum.*, p. 257.

Slatter, to spill liquids; *slattery*, wet, rainy, also as a consequence dirty; "Its varra slattery walking," (*Cr.*) The derivative of *slaed* (*A. S.*) is *slith*, slippery, also fierce. In its second sense, *slat*, *sleeat*, *slete*, is supposed by Jamieson (in v. sleuth hound) to be derived from *slod*, callis, semita, vestigia, (*Isl.*, *slóg*, Old North; *Dief.* vol. ii. p. 263.)

His slots, his entries and his port

His fraying fewmets.—*Sad Shepherd.*

Thus was game tracked formerly, and Milton uses *slot* for track by scent. To slete a dog is to set him at any thing, sheep, swine, &c., "canem immitere vel instigare," (*Cr.*), the quest and the encouragement to the quest confounded:

I wylle not sleete

My love to greete.

Welcome mine owne — circ. E. 6.

Slot and *schlagen* Diefenbach (vol. ii. p. 263) shows to be synonymous,—the footstep coming from the blow which makes it; *hufschlag* is thus a *slot*.

How did you kill him?

Slatted his braines out, then sows'd him in the briny sea.

The Malcontent, act iv. sc. 3.

Hunter, Thoresby, Carr and others agree that *slat* is the encouraging an animal to attack another, and the literal meaning of the word is therefore a blow or pat. In the following *slat* appears to the pret. of *slit* :

He sytteth as a slat swyn that hongeth is eren.

Pol. Songs, E 1, p. 154.

Slid, sought sighed; *sowd*, sold; *speek*, spoke; *spote*, spat; *sprad*, spread (*Bam.*); *spon*, *stank*, *streek* struck; *swat*, sweated; *sweer*, swore; *trat*, treated; *wed*, weeded; and others.

Next in order come the weak preterites; these almost universally end in *t*. The substitution of this letter for *d* Dr. Latham ranks amongst the most common of dialectic peculiarities, (*Grammar*, vol. i. p. 382.) In the *Cambridge Philol. Mus.*, vol. i. p. 656 (see also vol. ii. pp. 243 and 373), this softening of *d* is said to be congenial to the conformation of our organs, and yet the writer traces it no higher than to Spenser. The descent of the termination of the weak preterite is thus: *ode*, A. S.; *ede*, Robert of Gloucester; *ed*, Chaucer; *d* or *t*, Spencer. We have one Anglo Saxon preterite "whoavt" lingering with us and contradictory to the Cambridge theory. Weak preterites and past participles in *d* are with us of some rarity, as sperr'd, cropp'd, hong'd, puns'd, &c. We give a few weak preterites, they are numerous and comprise remarkable words, but we cannot pause to examine them: beawlt, bezzilt, blendit, borrut, berit, culurt, deet, fittut, follut, glendurt, goart, kilt, lastut, maundert, moydert, quift, rattlt, roost, sattlt sheamt, showtit, scutcht, tarrit, toynt, warrit, whewtit, whoavt, &c.

The metathesis apparently suffered by South Lancashire words is sometimes the holding fast to the Anglo Saxon, the transposition being the modern English; brast, brent, brid, gerse, girn, kersen, shirl, (burst, burnt, bird, grass, grin, christen, shrill,) are examples. Aphæresis is used towards some words, as chieve, stract, skuse, strushion, lieve (believe), which will be found each to have archaic authority in their favour. We dare not follow

Collier in his superabundant use of oaths. The profanity assigned to Jonson from his early plays is exceeded. Marston's "canon oaths" are more than reproduced, they are increased from the comedies of Anne's reign. We utterly repudiate such constant and exquisite swearing as an attribute of our peasantry.

The South Lancashire methods of forming comparatives are deserving notice, and in one instance we believe is peculiarly its own. This is the use of *in* for *than*, which Collier by its repetition seems to have regarded as worthy of being recorded. "Its moor in bargain;" "O wur kneave in this;" "I'm wur off neaw in eer eh wur;" "It wur better in lickly;" "On bezzilt owey moor brass innay haddn;" "I'll be far if I'd naw rether ha seent in o puppy show." This *in* is the Old North *enn*, denominated by Grimm a pronominal adverb, (*D. G.* vol. iii. p. 164); *än*, Swe., *end*, Dan., expressing *quam* after comparatives and *sed*. (*Dief.* vol. i. p. 49.) "Betra er ath vera felaus enn aerulaus," (*Isl.*)—"Better poor than without character." "Betra er halft brauth enn allt mist," (*Isl.*)—"Better half a loaf than all missed." In South Lancashire as in many other districts we give *nor* for *than*. In all Dictionaries from Minsheu to Richardson *nor* is a puzzle to lexicographers. Its application to comparison is purely oral, and has never received a higher notice than that of a Glossary. Jamieson says *nor* for *than* is of modern invention. *Nor* in Richardson's examples is traced only to the Bible of 1551; it is not in the *Prompt. Par.* We conclude, however, from the universality of the adoption of *nor than* that it is much older than this its negative and supposed congener. Perhaps they are not really allied; *nar*, Swe.; *naar*, prope and propius, Dan.; (*naer*, Old North, quum quando, *D. G.* vol. iii. pp. 182, 257), are on this question worth examining. The rationale of the comparative conjunction requires elucidation. Richardson's suggestion, which is the latest and is adopted by Dr. Latham (*Gram.* vol. ii. p. 322), that *than* is *then* a mere conjunction of succession will not bear examination. "*Than* is the same word as *then* applied to sequence, "succession, in taking, choosing, selecting, generally in acting or

“doing, thus: ‘I take this first, then that second, then that third; ‘I take it upon comparison, I prefer it;’ ‘I do this first, then that,’” &c. Richardson depends especially upon a quotation from Grafton: “And rather for your own causes being our christened “subjectes we would ye were persuaded then vanquished, taught “then overthrown, quietly pacified then rigourously prosecuted.” (*Grafton*, E. P. a 3.) The word *then* here is *than*, no conjunction of succession but one of disruption, and understood as *then* would be nonsense in the last sentence and very unintelligible in the two others. The German grammarians carefully warn us against considering *dann* and *denn*, which are too commonly with them interchanged, as synonymous. *Dann* (*then*) fixes a time and points out an order of succession; it is our *then*, but guarded by our neighbours with a regime dependent on two other words, *wann* and *erst*. *Denn* (*than*) does not mark a time, but it is used in some of the meanings of our *then*: “So mag es denn dabei bleiben;” “So mag es denn gut seyn;” and no one can listen to a German speaking but must detect *denn* continually serving as a mere expletive. Still as the comparative conjunction it has an object of its own in which *dann* is not permitted to interfere. That conjunctions, those coupling chains of speech, are held in requisition in comparisons, to limit and qualify and in fact to disjoin, is not to be denied. The Latin *ac* and *atque*, the German *als* and *denn*, prove this. The presence of a negative here is less inexplicable than that of words of mere transition; there is a denial more or less qualified in every comparison, and it is therefore the French *que ne* is grateful to foreign ears but not it seems to the people who use it. “Les “Latins n’employaient pas de négation dans les phrases qui énoncent “une comparaison, ‘Turpius est quam putas,’ et nos ancêtres ont dit “à leur imitation, ‘Il est plus honteux que vous le pensez;’ c’est par “abus que nous avons transféré *le en ne*, ‘Il est plus honteux que “vous ne pensez.’” (*Boinvilliers*, vol. ii. p. 484.) We repeat our *nor* *than* has probably no connexion with the negative *ne* or *nor*.

We cannot leave the conjunctions without noticing *ot*, *that*, which we share with the Scotch and which in South Lancashire

maintains its existence by the side of *that*. "That's caw'r yung caw't ot lies reawt."⁴ "The Gothic particle *at*, Anglo Saxon *æt*, Old High German *az*, Old North *at*, the neuter of the pronoun *ita*, separate themselves widely. In Gothic, Old High German and Anglo Saxon *at*, *az*, *iz*, are simply prepositions; in the Old North *at* is a preposition and conjunction with the meaning *ut*, *quod*. The modern North tongues divide the preposition and conjunction; as preposition it is pronounced *at*, Swe., *ad*, Dan.; as conjunction *at* in both." (*D. G.* vol. iii. p. 164, also vol. i. p. 781.) *ὅτι* Greek and *ut* Latin must have a derivation anterior to Gothic, in which however the conjunction *att*, *ut*, existed. Horne Tooke traces *that* to the past tense of *thean*, A. S., assume, and Richardson accepts the derivation!

In South Lancashire *ot* is pronoun, conjunction and preposition. "O mon ots gallopt ofore," *pro.*; "Nowt ots ow't theaw may be sure," *pro.*; "Neaw theaw mun know ot one neet," *conj.*; "T'a seen heav'th gobbin wur aw'tert when ot tey poodn him caw't," *conj.*; "I'r ot heawse in o crack," *prep.* (*T. B.*) "I'd fene speke at him" occurs in the same book, and also *at after*, which we observe Dr. Byrom uses.

We cannot dive our hand into the bag of South Lancashire dialectical curiosities without extracting proofs of the sermo strenuus which agrees so well with the loud utterance we give to our thoughts. We clinch or elongate everything; "saime toime" is our ordinary conjunction, "for shure" our method of reaffirming the most simple proposition, and for our intensives they are always coming to hand. "Just mete saime,"⁵ three words for one idea; "O grand heavse veri;" "O deyle o brass veri,"

⁴ The application of *rupta* or *rotto* to an animal severed from its herd or shelter is natural. A cow or other creature after lying out three days in Lincolnshire is conveyed to the route or green yard and is there left until the owner is found. This custom prevails at Horncastle and advertisements occur "Routed at — two pigs." — *Halli*.

⁵ *Mete* or *fyt* or *even*, equus, *Prompt. Par.*; *gamotjan*, Goth.; *begeggen*, *metan*, A. S. *occurrere*; *mete*, exactly, S. L.

“Moore worser tyert;” “Just mete neaw;” “As fause⁶ as fause could be;” “Awm o Rachde felley mon un we’re meterly⁷ fause there;” “E no toime,” to which as not fully expressing a brief space we add “or less.” Some, deal, and well, good old English terms, are familiar with us. “Eh there is sum stok o Rachde fok there un sum wele they’n dun o deyle on um has.” Fair is made to exaggerate foul things, as “fere cheeotin.”⁸ *Gradely* or *greedly* is a very common word, but it is rather connected with *gerathen* than *gerade*. “To the Old North *greidr*, *greida*, explicare,

⁶ *Fawse*, cunning, false, as cunning, derived by Mr. Hunter and Dr. Carr from an old colloquial name given to the fox. False comes from *faulse* (Nor. Cot.) a *fallo*, and both these have the sense of deceiving. “False and untrostry perfidus; false and deceyvable, versutus and versipellis.” (*Prompt. Par.*) These last words express the South Lancashire *fawse*.

⁷ *Mete*, as moderate, *maete*, modest, moderate, comparative; *maettra*, A. S.; *mitan*, Goth., *metan*, A. S., to measure. In all European languages moderate is the figurative meaning of measured. In this sense *mete* occurs, *Lazamon* (both manuscripts) vol. i. p. 279; *medful*, *Ancren Riwe*, p. 414; in Skelton twice. Halliwell quotes the following old MS.,—

“Of heigte he was a metely mon,
Nouther to grete ny to smal.”

Metely or *meterly* had a disparaging signification. (*Ray*). *He is metely learned*, mediocriter doctus est. (Dyce’s *Skelton*, vol. i. p. 270; *Dief.* vol. ii. pp. 68, 77, 79, 91; *Thoresby*; *Cr.*; *W. & C.*, &c.) *Mete*, just fitting, has survived *mete*, moderate. Probably the use of this word in our Bible has secured for it a vitality denied to *mete*, moderate. Grose annexes *meeverly* to this set of words, and its meaning in *Tim Bobbin* allies it to them. “*Boh*,” says the book, “I carrit me sell meety meeverly too to.” “These constable folk wur meety meeverly on modest too to.” Moderate would answer for *meeverly* in both these sentences. It is rendered bashful, shy, mild (*North. Halli., Wt.*), to which Carr has “of a quiet or gentle disposition, affectedly sparing in eating or drinking.” These meanings are reconcileable with *meterly*, but they also approximate to another word. The Gothic *mavi* mädchen, *mavilo* magdlein, *meovle*, *meowle*, a maid, A. S., seems a probable source of *meeverley*, expressing maidenly qualities, bashful, shy, gentle. But Grimm’s ineffectual attempt to attach *mōi* venustus (N. G. and Netherlandish) to *mavi* warns us not to insist on our conjecture. (*Dief.* vol. ii. pp. 2, 3.)

⁸ Shakespere’s affirmation of the identity of fair and foul, and the idea in his sonnet of “fairing his foul,” seem here realised. We cannot by any license of metaphor reconcile the use of a word derived from the Anglo Saxon *faeger*, fair, beautiful, as an intensive of bad things. The eleventh meaning of *fair* “open, direct,” “and fair in

parare, felicitare, belong the English obsolete words of dialect, *graithe*, parare, vestire; *grade*, *greide*, prepared; *gradely*, decently, orderly, moderately." *Dief.* vol. ii. p. 429. *Greithan*, to prepare, to dress, *Lazamon*, *Ancren Riwele*; *graithe*, ready, prepared, *Piers Ploughman*; *grayth*, to prepare, to clothe, *Chaucer*; *graythed*, donn'd, *Sir Perceval of G.* p. 123.

And thare made he no lett
At yate door ne wykett
But in graythely (readily) he gett.—*Ibid.* p. 490.

Graythe in his gere (proper in his dress).
Avowynge of King Arthur.—*Hale MS.* p. 36.

Now have we no graythe (preparation).
Anturs of Arthur.—*Hale MS.* p. 34.

Sir Gawan graythist on grene.—*Ibid.* p. 1.
Thenne Gawan graythist of all.—*Ibid.* p. 34.

Or as we should say the most gradely, or "properest fellow." The *Hale MS.* probably of the fifteenth century has a value in South Lancashire etymological researches, although we cannot with Mr. Robson its editor identify its language altogether with any Lancashire dialect. The pronoun *hoo* (*heo*) for she, her, and which the MS. contains, is one of our most peculiar terms, and to this day is said to be limited in its use by the English Apennines dividing Lancashire and Derbyshire from Yorkshire. *Graythely* is in this MS. and in the sense of gradely. The writer in treating of women thus expresses himself:

sight" (Dryden, *T. J.*), and the quotation from Waterland in Richardson, "when he fairly gives them up" completely, are examples of *fair* allied to Collier's. But neither in Richardson nor in Webster's definitions is this sense of fair to be found. Minshew would at once relieve us of our difficulty by associating beauty with every sort of thing that is perfect and complete. Discarding the common derivation of fair as here inapplicable, we turn to *ga Fours gesezt*, Goth.; *fere*, Old Friesland *commodum*; *för*, Dan. *gesund kraftig*; *fær*, Old North *habilis, sufficiens*, *Dief.* vol. i. p. 364; *fere, fer*, adj., entire, sound; *faer*, Isl.; *foer*, Sw. *validus*, *Jn.*, who has a comparative *farar*, better.

No luffe will inne hom lenge
 With gode wille grathely hom gete.

Avowyinge of Arthur, 62, 9.

(Vid. Jamieson's *grathe*.) *Primely* is one of Collier's intensives, we think it slang. "Boh theaw meh be shure I're primely boyrnt on os weet os weet os ewer eh could sye." *Boyrn* is set down as "to rince or wash out" in the glossary, and Davies deduces it from "*buer* (Nor. Fr.) to wash." Cotgrave translates it "to wash a buck, to scower with lye;" but this mild process was anything but that which Tummus underwent, for he had tumbled into the stream and was nearly drowned; "for be me troth I'r welly wher-ken't." *Bayne* submitted to the South Lancashire dipthong is *bawyne* (boyrne), and *bayne* is not uncommon as an Anglo Norman word:

And when salt tears did bayne my breast.

Surrey's Poems, vol. i. p. 23.

(Vid. Nott's note to this passage and quotation.) The Chevaliers des bains were called in English Knights of the bayne. *Sye* is in both branches of Teutonic words, and here means "as ever I could drip;" *sihan*, to flow down, to descend, also to strain, to filter; *sgan*, *sah*, *seh*, *soh* (*Bos.*, *O. H. G.*, and *Swe.*); *sihon*, *sie* (Old English); *sey* (Scot.), colare, liquare; *seihe*, a strainer (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 204) *σειω*, quatio; *sie*, a drop (*Cr.*); *sya percolare* (Isl.); *sier* (Dan.); "sigh clout," a strainer, (*Percy's Reliques*, vol. i. p. 149; *sile*, *syle* and *sey* in *Suppt. Jn.*), Derbyshire; "Wherknt suffocated with water smoke," &c. (*T. B.*); *quark* (Goth.), the throat (*T. J.*); *querk*, (Old North); *querka mein*, angina, *irquepan*, suffocari (*O. H. G.*, *Davies*, p. 273); *querkened*, noyé, suffoqué (*Cot.*); *woorghen* (*Bel.*); to choke (*Minsheu*, *Cr.*) Diefenbach treating of *kwekæ* (Polish), stohnen, quaken, *kwokati* (Bohemian), *glucksen*, *achzen*, *quieken*, *quaken*, alludes to the remarkable accumulation of words (schallwörter) expressing the sense by the sound (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 470) resembling these.

Too too is one of our most prominent intensives. Its origin is no doubt the important Saxon prefix and suffix *to*, which as a pre-

fix frequently justifies a comparison with the German *zer* (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 629) in the force it communicates. Hamlet has made us familiar with this redoubled word which appears of no great antiquity, being traced by Mr. Halliwell only to Skelton (*Shakspeare Society's Papers*, vol. i. p. 40). *Too too* in Ray's time was in a Cheshire proverb, and marked the highest tension: "Too too will in two;" but Wilbraham does not now claim the words which are perhaps peculiar to South Lancashire. "That wur clever too too:" "And savoury he lookt too too;" "Ney this is a cutter too too." Cutter has two meanings in *Tim Bobbin*, the ordinary one of a sharper, and also a verb explained in the Glossary "to make much of, as a hen or goose of their young." The author says to the book: "I dunnaw meon heaw fok harbortnt or cutternt oer thee." *Cythan*, *cuthan*, known, familiar; *cuthe* p. hence *kith*, Eng. The construction of *cutternt* is not uncommon with our preterites and past participles; the word is *cutterten*, but the otherwise terminal *en* is made penultimate with the loss of its vowel. We here touch upon one of the greatest causes of the unintelligibility of the South Lancashire dialect to strangers. The pronouns and verbs suffer mutations which defy the abounding art of Greek figures and German sounds (an, in, ab, aus, and um, lauts) to achieve or justify. *Yoan*, you will or have; "Fattle be i'th foyar;" *teawst*, *yoast*, thou shalt, you shall; *they'n*, they will; *I'd*, I had or would; *I'ddn*, you had; *yood'n*, you was; *Ire*, I were; *I'st*, I shall; *didnyono*, did you not; "I wuddiddn tell him I'd fene speyk to him" (*T. B.*), I wish you would, &c.; *yoad'n*, you would; "I height e meh pocket;" *tey'dn mede*, they had made; "Ot those ottn steyl win lie," that those who will steal will lie; *hoor heor*, she were; *inney haddn*, than he had; *hood*, she had or would, &c.

Well by the addition of *ly* is supposed to represent well nigh; "Un awd tey th' liberte of breykin ther yeds, appen not quite but welley" (*R. F.*) This word obtains from Three Counties' Hill to the Mersey. *Thrutch* in Ray's time was in a Cheshire proverb, it is now in the *Craven Glossary*; it is a Friesian donative, *thair* (Gothic), per *durch*, *thuruh* (A.S.); *thru*ch (Old Friesland); "in

allen Norden dialecten nicht vorhanden" (*D. G.* vol. iii. p. 261; also *Dief.* vol. ii. p. 690). *Um* for 'em (*hem* them) is most common. In Dryden's early play of the *Wild Gallant* it occurs throughout. "Au laft whol au wur welly feyrd o brastin." *While* for *until* down to Shakespere's time was in common use (Yorkshire, *Halli.*, North. *Pegge*); *while* is time: "I could not awhile [find time] to do it" is in the Herefordshire dialect; "stay a while," Eng. *Whoam*, the prefix of *w* is general orally, and this word has no exclusive domicile in South Lancashire. "And I'll axe meystur to night when I goos whoam" (*Halli. Isle of Wight*). "Coming whoame vrom market," (*Akerman, Wilts*; also *Chester Plays*, vol. i. p. 58, 144, *Lodge's Illustrations*, 1516, vol. i. p. 8, &c.) *Dree*, *droegia* (*Old North*), *mora*, *tarditus*; *droja* (*Sive.*) *cunctari*; *dragan* (*Goth.*), "sich ziehen, acervare, coacervare," to draw or drag together, hence *drawl*, (and *drate*, to drawl out one's words, *North, Ray*, *drat*?) *Dree* is hardly derived from *dreojan* to bear, vid. Diefenbach, quoting Grimm on the affinity between *dragan* and *driuhan* (*Goth.*) vol. ii. p. 241. "Whoas 'lad art to?' 'Whau,' said he, 'I'm Jones o Salls o Simmys o Marrions o Dicks o Nathans o Salls o Simmys i'th Hooms, an I'm 'gookink whoam.' Odds, thinks I't meh sell, theaws a dreer neme 'in me. On here, Meary, I cou'd nau boh think whot lung nemes 'sum on us han, for thine and mine are meeterley, boh this lad's 'wur so mitch dreer ot I thowt it dockt mine tone hawve." This supplying a pedigree of Christian names was and perhaps still is the custom among our genuine compatriots who of surnames had none. The reversing the ordinary modes of comparison and allowing precedence by docking has much humour in it. *Dock*, Minsheu says, is used by Chaucer, and means to curtail. The shortening a horse's tail is its radical signification, and this Webster extends to abbreviating an account. Richardson gives *dock* a German and Dutch origin, Webster a Welch one, and Todd's Johnson, perhaps wiser than either, is altogether at fault on the subject.

"But I mawkint an lost my gete ogen snap, so I powlert oer yeates and steels" (*T. B.*) *Mawkin* as a verb must not be confounded with the noun, signifying a mop, a bundle of rags, a scarecrow, a scullion

wench. For the verb two etymons present themselves, *meach* or *mich* (Old English), to conceal, to sneak, to act the eavesdropper, sich verstecken, lauschen, schleichen. (Vid. *mich* in *Halliwell's Dictionary*.)

Say we should all meach here and stay the feast.

The Honest Man's Fortunes, act v. sc. 2.

How like a mitcher he stands as though he had truated
from honesty. — *Mother Bombie*, act i. sc. 3.

“*Maucht* (Roxburgs.) part. and ad., tired, worn out, puzzled, evidently the same as *mate*, *mait*, with the interjection of the gut-tural.” (*Jn.*)

Powlert, (*bullt*, Old North, motus creber, *bulta*, schlagen, klopfen, to which belong *bultra*, Dan. and Old North; *buldra*, poltern, Ger. (auch plaudern), *Dief.* vol. i. p. 283.) *Pouldre* was held in requisition to describe a straggling or wandering disposition, “avoir les pieds pouldreux” (*Cot.*); and in Todd’s Johnson *poulder*, to come tumultuously and violently; “a low corrupt word,” *L’Estrange*. We say in South Lancashire of a somewhat noisy and purposeless rambler: “He goes pouldering about;” and another word, “bawping,” expressing almost the same thing, we well remember to have heard some half century ago amongst our peasantry.

Appern and *barm skin* are so fully explained in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (in vv. naperon, barme cloth, barn skin) that we have little to add; we prefer the derivation *naperon*, *nappe* to *aet foran* (A.S.), *aforne* (Chaucer), although *f* and *p* “inter se cognatæ sunt.” *Aporne*, *aperne*, *apern* are used by Gosson in *Gammer Gurton*, act ii. sc. 4, in *May Day*, act iii. sc. 1, and by Tusser. The shortening the vowel by geminating the following consonants is congenial to the South Lancashire tongue: papper, babby, labbor, monny, onny, &c. *Ashelt* literally “as held” is less worthy of observation than *eldar*, potius (*R. F.*), the old Icelandic *Hældr*.

Feaberry, gooseberry, is in Bamford and the old South Lancashire Glossaries, but we never heard this truly Lancashire fruit so designated. Gerard says the name is used in Cheshire “my native

county." It is also common in Yorkshire, and known in East Anglia as *feabes* or *fapes*. "I do not know the origin of this any more than of *carberry* which is said to be another name," (*Miller, Ray, Hunter, Wilb.*) *Filu faibus*, varius, mannigfältig (*Goth.*); "*Feh bunt*, varius pictus, multicolor" (*O. H. G., Oberd., Alt. Sax., Dief.*, vol. i. p. 351); *fah*, different colours (*A.S., Bos.*); *faw*, of diverse colours (*Jn.*). Cotgrave has the word in v. *groseilles* (*Halli.*)

Balderdash: "Stuff, stuff, meer balderdash, sed the cunstable" (*T. B.*) This is one of the most universal of British colloquial words; it is found in Scotland and throughout England. As applied to nonsensical conversation it is probably very ancient. *Bulldur* (*Jcl.*); "Susurrorum blateratio vel stultorum balbuties" (*Jn.*) Horne Tooke's use of the word is Richardson's earliest example of it in this sense: "I heard him charge this publication with ribaldry, scurrility, billingsgate and balderdash" (*Horne's Trial*, p. 25.) Here it has evidently a worse meaning than nonsense. "*Balder*, to use coarse language" (*East.*) "Any mixture of rubbish is called balderdash. In some districts the term is restricted to absolute filth whether applied to language or in its literal sense" (*Halli.*) This apparently is modern and derived from the figurative sense attached to balderdash by the Elizabethan dramatists, of a mixture of bad wines such as Jonson detested:

Let our wine without mixture or stum be all fine.

Jonson is both Todd's Johnson's and Richardson's authority; the former adds Beaumont and Fletcher, and Nash, speaking of "bubbly spume or barber's balderdash," being the foam made by dashing balls of soap backwards and forwards in a bason (*Malone*). The quotation in Todd's Johnson wants the succeeding line to make it applicable.

Mine is such a drench of balderdash

Such a strange curded [mixed] cunningness.

Fletcher's Woman's Prize, act iv. sc. 5.

S'foot, wine sucker, what have you filled us here? balderdash?

May Day, act iii. sc. 1.

Now and then in beer and balderdash

Her lips she dips. — *Taylor's Drink and welcome.*

Mr. Davies claims this word for the Welch *bal*, what jets out, and *tordd*, a din or tumult. Dr. Johnson deduced it from *bald*, *bold* and *dash*.

Blether is also a South Lancashire expression common to England. "Doant ee kep blethering about fairings" (*Berks. Dial., Tom Brown's School Days*). Bamford says it means "to blubber or cry;" perhaps to talk unintelligibly or without purpose from vehemence, repetition or any other cause, is a better definition. *Bladdra* (Swe.), plaudern; *blateren* (Teut.) stulte loqui, blaterare, to babble (*Jn., Cr., Dief.* vol. i. p. 306); *Blauthjan* (Goth.) abschaffen, delere; *blauder* (Icel.), *bluther* (Scot.), *blother* (Old Eng.), to gabble.

Thus eche of other blother. — *Skelton's Colin Clout*, p. 66.

That blaber, barke and blother. — *Ibid.* p. 779.

"He and hys wyfe and other have blaveryd here of my kynred in heder moder" (*Paston's Letters* 1461, vol. iii. p. 22). *Hugger mugger* is thus shown to be a century older than in Richardson's first example from Ascham, and its meaning is clearly "secretly," and not as the compilers of some of our South Lancashire Glossaries affirm, "a jumble, a confusion" (*Bam.*), "peevish, uncomfortable, cross-grained" (*T. B.* edit. 1833); the first edition with a Glossary designates it "conceals," which would be correct if applied to a verb.

What, my lusty Frank,

So near a wife and will not tell your friend,

But you will to this gear in hugger mugger?

Merry Devil of Edmonton, v. 235.

"Such a one they sawe there by lyrkinge and huggeringe two hours before the gentleman came;" (*A Caveat, &c. by Harman*, 1567). In Florio's Dictionary (Italian) *dinascoso* is rendered secretly, hiddenly, in hugger mugger. (Vid. *Reed's Shakspeare*, vol. xviii. p. 284; *Old Plays* 1780, vol. viii. p. 48; *Revenger's Tragedy*, act v. sc. 4, p. 357; *Mother Hubbard's Tale (Old Plays)*, vol. vii. p. 409.)

Tory rory is explained in our Glossaries by a reference to *hey-go-*

mad: "He drank the health five times supernaculum to my son
"Brainsick, and dipt my daughter Pleasances little finger to make
"it go down more glibly, and, before George, I grew 'tory rory'⁹
"as they say, and strained a brimmer;" (*Dryden's Kind Keeper*,
vol. i. p. 1.)

Bam appears to us imputed to South Lancashire for the sake of a Welch derivation. We believe it is an abbreviation of bamboozle, and the only use of it in our district we have either seen or heard is in an old Liverpool Squib Book, where Mr. Bamber Gascoyne is designated by an opponent as "a bam from Gascony."

Grewnt, greyhound (*T. B.*); this is merely an abbreviation. In the canons of Canute quoted in Manwood's *Forest Laws*, "canes quos Angli greyhound appellunt" occurs. (Vid. *Rich., Jn. and Suppt.*, and *Knapp*, p. 136). The old greyhound had a scent and hunted deer. *Grew* (Scot.), a greyhound; *grey* (Icel.), a dog; *grewan*, a greyhound (*Kinross*), *grehund*; *grei* or *grey hound*, Grecian hound (*Minsheu*), *grewe*, *greece* (Scot), *grey*, a badger: "And they
"not only cowrsydd w^t sum grewnds but also w^t horsemen, w^t darts
"and sperys, and many [stags] so sleyn, (1516, *Lodge's Illustrations*, vol. i. p. 6); "Yoad'n be os gawnt os a grewnt" (*T. B.*)

The *guts* are with us what the *brains* are to other people. "Boh I think i my guts ittle doo;" "For I think e me guts I'st stink like a foomurt" (*T. B.*) Butler seated the affections in this portion of the body:

It grieved him to the guts that they—

Hudibras, part i. canto 2, line 893.

⁹ North's origin of the epithet "Tory" has been generally adopted. Richardson throws some doubt upon it by quoting Skinner (ob. 1687). North's date for the word is 1679 (*Examen*, p. 321), Johnson's 1680, which is the year of the last 4to edition of Dryden's *Limberham, or the Kind Keeper*. The designations Tory and Whig were no doubt given by adversaries as abusive. Skinner derived *tory rory* from *thor* (Teut.) a fool, and in that sense Dryden adopted it adjectively. It is rendered "wildly" by Halliwell and in Wright's Dictionary. If Tory be deduced from the worst of the Irish in 1679, *tory rory* has evidently another parentage; and if *tantivy* was also temp. Car. II. (North *ut supra*) descriptive of a Jacobite, perhaps *tory rory*, another boisterous expression, may also be an additional imputation on the party to be maligned.

He has no guts in his brains. The anfractus of the brain looked upon when the dura mater is taken off do much resemble guts. — *Ray.*

The guts of my conscience begin to be of whit leather. — *Virgin Martyr*, act iv. sc. 2.

We must pass from the words to the letters and diphthongs which obtain in South Lancashire. The vowels interchange and the tendency of the consonants is to soften. *A* sinks into insignificance, its place being variously supplied and especially by *o*. This before printing fixed conventionalisms was generally the case in the English language, and words like *man* and *land* were spelt *mon* and *lond* by the Anglo-Saxons. The custom of doing this is firmly retained amongst us, and although a common archaism it is in the present day one of the distinctive characteristics of the dialect. Thus a *Loncoshire* or *Monchester mon* are sobriquets which we may neither repudiate nor even explain by pleading “the natural tendency of *a* to become *o*.” (*Latham’s Gram.* vol. ii. p. 287.) Camden says the Saxons styled the county *Loncasterscyre*, vulgo *Lonkashire*. *On, os, ot, con, onseer, condle, crom, lone, hong’d, hommer, hondle, hont, stond*, and a number of other words bear testimony to the displacement of *a*. In Halifax, according to Mr. Watson, *o* is converted into *a*, and it is perhaps this counter and neighbouring influence which accounts for Collier’s occasional relaxation of his rule in the opposite change, as *crap, wark, misfartins, rank* (wrong), *ward, far*. As a prefix *o* intrudes on the first vowel in *owey, ogen, onny* (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 226), *oanother, ofore, oboon, obeawt, ofeard, &c.* *A* and *o* from *Beowulf* to *Skelton* were considered as alike.

The Sowdane with his ownne honde
Crowned hir Quene of all his londe,
And sent hir to his countré;
A chartir was made fulle wele farande,
The Sowdane selide it with his hande,
That thofe he never come in his lande
That scho solde quene be.

Sir Isumbras, l. 330.

Londs (*Paston Letters*, vol. iii. p. 130); *onye* (*ib.* p. 132); *mony*, many (*ib.* p. 284); *mare*, more; *sare*, sore; *alde*, old; *nane*, none, (*Thornton MS. Camd. Soc.*, 4, 6, 90, 92, 95.) Piers Ploughman, Chaucer, Mandeville and Wicliff will abundantly in almost any of their pages exemplify the interchange of *a* and *o*.

The substitution of *e* for *a* is another of the instincts of our language. From the most remote days, and through all of the tongues from which they are derived, the Teutonic lingual family have shown this tendency (*D. G.* vol. i. pp. 43, 49, 79, 202, 225, 269, 281). Unfortunately the great European philologue only treats of Early Anglo-Saxon (vol. i. p. 222), and tells us that a more thorough knowledge of the tongue is to be achieved by an examination of the remains found in England itself. It is however sufficient for our purpose to show, without tracing the use of *e* for *a* from Early Anglo-Saxon downwards, that before printing the practice prevailed in England generally, and therefore its being retained in any district proves nothing as to a peculiarity of origin but the contrary. Our custom in this exchange of vowels comes within the scope of Grimm's disparaging remarks on English: "So great is the confusion in the oscillation between the old writing and the modern pronunciation that one may as well leave the true orthoepy unlearnt as attempt to gather it by the ear" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 540). Then follows a denunciation similar to that of Dr. Trench against our pronouncing dictionaries.

We find *kese* ("condition as to outward circumstances"), *ete*, *seme*, *tene* (*tane*, Old Eng., *ta'en*), *deme*, *keke*, *mede*, *brevely*, &c. in *Tim Bobbin*; this is converting the *a* elongated by the silent *e* into *e*. *Same* and *made* are resumed in the South Lancashire of 1853. This long soft *a* however formed, even by *ai*, as *fain*, *tail*, *plain*, &c., or otherwise occurring, is reduced to *e*, as "Kene kilt Ebil;" *tele*, *plene*, *fere*, *eem*, *fene* (*fane*, *R. F.*) This transition is Scandinavian (*D. G.* vol. i. pp. 293-295) and not Anglo-Saxon, and proceeds from the diphthong *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, leaving the accent on the first letter; in some dialects the second is prominent as in Herefordshire. *Berm* (*beirma* Gael., *beorma* A.S., *θερμος* *Dief.* p. 326, *berm* Chaucer,

bermyrn Prompt. Par.), *kest* (Wiclif, c. 4 and 12, and *Faerie Queene*, xii. 15.), *keckle* (*kaeckelen* Dutch) retain their legitimate pronunciation. Formerly (1753) we said *fethur*, *rethur*, *wetur*; and now (1853) *faythur*, *raythur*, *waytur*. Of father, *fadar* Goth., we suspect the German *vater* gives the true accent of the first *á*; but we look to the Old Friesish *feder* and the Anglo-Saxon *faeder* (*ä*) as well as the Icelandic *fedr*, as justifying *fethur*; on the other hand the Greek and Latin *πατηρ* and *pater*, the French *pere* and the North Friesish *vaer*, all prepare us for *faythur*. Rather, *hraed*, *hraethe* (Bos., A.S.) *Waytur* again the Anglo-Saxon *ae*, alike transferable to *ay* or *e*. Our inconsistency is however not to be explained away. We turn *e* into *a* in *clark*, *laft*, *marry*, *hard bally*, &c. "And cheryte so colde" (Skelton's *Speke Parrot*, p. 493); *gret*, great; *farre*, far; *werre*, war; *Remond*, Raymond; *hertely*, *clerly*, *yerd* (*Paston Letters*, vol. i. pp. 42, 52, 56, 58; vol. iii. pp. 264, 290, 300, 316.) "And the two sterres ne moven never" (*Mandeville*). Then Chaucer abounds in *e* supplying the place of *a*. *Ai* is not a diphthong but *ā* as in fate, and in the use of this letter we seem to follow the derivation of the words. *Blain*, *fair*, *swaith*, are pronounced as in English.

By flies death, botch and blayne. — 1538, *God's Promises*; *Dodsley*, vol. i. p. 25.

Aighs (*ax*, and perhaps the *a* was formerly softened by the silent *e*, maugre the double consonant, *axe*, *acs*, *aex*, *eax*, Bos.)

With is ax in ys hond. — *Pol. Songs*, E. 1, 222.

Let him make an axe for the nones. — *Richard Cœur de Lyon*; *Warton*, vol. i. p. 167.

Fartin is altogether exceptional, derived from the French *fortune*; it is one of the few vulgarisms with which we are afflicted. *Flaight*, a light turf; (*flak* and *flaight*, turf, fuel, *Halli.*, *Wt.*; *ad flaa* Icel.; cutem detrahere, *Cr.* flay); *gaight*, give it; *gainer*, nearer (*Cr.* *gane*, *gayn*, adj. near, applied to a way; *gen*, utilis, Old Swe.; *genwaeg* via brevior, *Jn.*) *Dief.* vol. ii. p. 395. "A word peculiarly used "in the north of England, *gain* adj., commodus, facilis, promptus,

"alacer, propinquus, honestus." Diefenbach hesitates about its French origin. "In remoter times the French *gaignage* served for it. In fact Bosworth gives *gynan* (A.S.) *lucrari*." This is however on Somner's authority. *Gain*, near, is in Lilly and Lydgate; but although in the *Tim Bobbin* glossaries, as likewise the more important word *gar*, we do not perceive them in the book itself. *Saig*, a saw (*saga* A.S.) *saigh* v. saw (*seed*, *sen*).

I seigh the sonne and the see. — *Piers Ploughman*.

Reson I seigh soothly. — *Ibid*.

Slaigh, *sleawgh*, the sloe; *slae* (*Jn.*); *unlaight*, unlaced; *unleawght*, (*lacet*, Fr.) unlatched (*Bam.*); *haigs*, haws (*haga* A.S.)

Aw, *au*, is so common in the South Lancashire dialect, and apparently acts as the sound substituted for the radical vowel in so many cases, that but for the connection of this diphthong both with the Scandinavian and Teutonic tongues, we should vainly attempt to account for its ubiquity. Modern German, however, has *au* so embedded in it that we must not be surprised to find another of the same family lavish in its use. It is chiefly in the diphthong *eaw* that South Lancashire adopts the sound. With us *aw* replaces *I*; it likewise stands for *all*. *Awlung*, *awtercation*, *awmeety*, *awteration*, *bawks*, *sawt*, *fawt*, &c.; before *l* this sound is both archaic and not partially colloquial. Its interchange with *o* is worthy observation: *awlus*, always (*T. B.*); *olis* (*R. F.*); *ealleweza* (A.S.); *awf* (aelf, *Bos.* oaf, *Eng. Dial.*; *Dief.* vol. i. p. 208; *aufe*, *Drayton*; *ouphe* *Shakspeare*;) *awts*, orts, *Eng.*, refuse of hay, left meat, fragments.

Evening orts are good morning fodder. — *Ray*, p. 103.

To make orts of good hay. — *Ibid.* p. 205.

Dief. vol. i. p. 132; *iate*, *iotu*, *krippe* (Old North): *ort* (Ger.); perhaps the crib became to signify what it contained, "*uberbleibsel des Futters*." (See Mr. Garnett on *odd* and *ort*, *Qu. Rev.* liv. p. 328.) "On began o crowming o'th leawp hoyles on th' slifters i'th leath woughs full o awts." The second *o* here stands for *aw*, all. *Awse*, *hawse*, 1853; *oss*, 1753; *osi* (W.), to offer, essayer (French),

audeo, ausus. "I durst ostite o tean a bear by th' tooth osta ost seech
 "hur i'th teawn." *Naw* (T. B., R. F.); *not, ne, nawt*, nothing
 (R. F.); *nawt* (T. B., Bam.); *néaht, náht, nauht* (A.S.); *now-*
ther, nother; these various South Lancashire negatives are as old as
 the English language and have been steadfastly retained, whilst
 other forms have been supplied to the educated classes.

And nout one our earen auh ower eie thurles tuneth azein idel speche.
Anc. Riwle, p. 70.

Ne clothes nouter. — *Ibid.* p. 350.

That nath nout en hod his hed for te hude. — *Pol. Songs*, E. 1, p. 150.

Gawm, understand or comprehend, *gaumjau* (Goth.), *sehen, gewah-*
ren, geomian gieman (A.S.), to regard (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 387; *Bos.*);
feme, animadvertere, attendere (*Dief.*; *Jn.*)

And theroff had owre kyng an awme (a knowledge.) — *Sege of Roan*,
Arch. xxi. p. 62.

Gaum (*Halli.*, *Wt.*, *Ches. Pl.*, *Cr.*)

Gawster, another most expressive and peculiarly South Lancashire
 word. Mr. Davies here holds in requisition "Old North *geistr*
 "vehemens, and Ger. Bav. *gaustern*, to act with precipitancy or rash-
 "ness." This family of words on which the German *geist* depends
 are given in *Dief.* vol. i. p. 398; but we do not think *gawster* be-
 longs to them. Jamieson's *gawcy* affords a trace of the word in its
 third meaning:

Weel might ye trow to see them there
 Whan pacing wi' a gawsy air
 In gude braid clath. — *Fergusson*.

And again from Ramsay:

Lang syne, my Lord, I had a court
 And nobles filled my cawsy,
 But since I have been fortune's sport
 I look nae hawff sae gawsy.

Here the word means swaggering as our *gawster*. The Netherlands'
 "*guysen effluere cum strepitu, gausen* (Swz.) liquida miscere et

“pejorare, blaterare” (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 409), deserves consideration. Gairstering (*Cr.*); goyster (*Grose*).

There are several French words on which we have imposed our *aw*. *Gawmble* (gambol), *dawmp*, *gauby*, *jawms* (door jambs), &c.; and one affording an illustration of that misdivision of syllables on which Latham dilates (*Gram.* vol. ii. p. 51). His example is *an ôg* (Dan.), *a nag* (Eng.) The indefinite article *an* appears here to be in fault, so *a nawstler* (ostler) or *a noant* (aunt) *S. L.*; but the article will not account for this usage in the common South Lancashire word *noun* (own), and which is frequent in Old English.

Of my nounge p'per godes. — *Paston Letters*, vol. i. p. 13.

Wrytin w^t my nounge chaunsery hand. — *Ibid.* p. 48.

And my nowne body. — *Avowynge of Arther*, p. 35.

How thynk you by this, my nowne deare mother? — *Wit and Science*, p. 36.

Ye have offended me wyth mysse and kepte me fro my nowne cete. — *Sege of Roan*, *Arch.* xxi. p. 75.

Boh his gronny's alive, an woan weh his noant Margary e Grinfil, at pleck where his nown mother coom fro. — (*T. B.*)

The diphthong *au* proceeds from the Gothic and is adopted in the Scandinavian, Teutonic and Scotch languages. Grimm, treating of Gothic vowels (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 46), says: “*áu* answers to the *o* and “*u* of Old High German, *ea* of Anglo Saxon, and *au* Icelandic; and “*áu* is represented by the *o* or *u* of Old High German, Old Saxon, “and Icelandic, and sometimes by the *ea* of Anglo Saxon.” “The “modern Scandinavian dialects approximate the old *au* to the sound “of *ô*.” The troubled *o* or *ou* is meant, for treating of the Old North (Icel.) vowels we find “*au* corresponds to *áu* Goth., *au* (ou) *ô* Old High German, and *ea* Anglo Saxon” (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 293); and here is a note in which Grimm differs from Rask who rejects the sound in modern German of *au*, a somewhat hardy Danish conjecture, which the Teuton affirms to be sometimes *áu* and sometimes *áu*, and he has fortunately in his analysis of modern German vowels given us a clear idea of this difference (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 523). Here

au "is a common diphthong in which two kinds of organic sounds "disadvantageously mix; 1° *au* equivalent to the Old High German "*ā* in *haus*, 2° equivalent to *ou* in *taub*, *baum*, &c." To this last we would direct attention as identical with our pronunciation of the second portion of *eaw*. "The mixing *u* and *ou* began long ago in "Modern High German; at present the distinction between the two "kinds of *au* is no longer made by the educated classes, and it would "be impracticable, as in some low dialects, to represent the first *au* "as *āu* and the second as *aū*, that is to say *kaum* is a good rhyme "for *baum* and *schaum* for *traum*." Under the head of modern English vowels we find: "The Anglo-Saxon *ō ū ī* the English of "our day will not express, although *u* in the English middle age "grew to *ou* and thence to *au*." (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 543.)

We must further remark, in order to connect the *ū* (*A.S.*) with *eaw*¹⁰ (*S. L.*), that *eo* is one of the most usual changes for the Anglo-Saxon *u* to receive; *lufan* leofan, *clufan* cleofan, *murnan* meornan, *burg* beorg; this radical vowel also sometimes escaped in the opposite direction by the adoption of *y*; *scrud* scrydan, *hunger* hyngrian. "*Ea* (*A.S.*) is every where hard to separate from *eo* (*A.S.*)" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 240.) We experience this in another class of words; *breod* (*A.S.*) bread (*S. L.*), *cheap* (*A.S.*) cheop (*S. L.*) The *eā* of the Anglo Saxon is set down (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 238) as similar to *āu* (Goth.), *au*, *ō*, *ou* (O. H. G.), *au* (Icel.); "the preceding *e* dare I "not accept for an *ë* (springing out of *i*), it appears the weakening "of some other vowel." This is precisely our *e* "mit flüchtig vorgeschlagenem *ö*" in *beawt* quod literis dicere non est. Our general substitute in modern English for the Saxon *u* is *ou* or *ow*, the representatives of *eo* with the troubled *o* which necessarily attracted the accent and thus adapted itself to the Teutonic inclination of mixing *u* and *ou*.

The fate of words having *u* for their principal vowel is illustrated

¹⁰ "The shibboleth of the three dialects is *house*, which the Northumbrian pronounces *hoose*, the North Anglian *hāoose*, nearly like *au* in Italian flauto, and the "inhabitants of South Lancashire in a way quod literis dicere non est, but generally "represented in print by *heawse*." — (*Mr. Garnett, Quar. Rev.*, No. lv. p. 386.)

in *be utan*, be out (*Tooke*, p. 713). “*But* could entirely supply the place of the conjunction *without*” (*ibid.* p. 175), without ab (*A.S.*) *withutan*, extra (*Skinner*). Our *beawt* is sine and not extra; it does not mean externally or beyond, but without applied to deprivation. “*Butan* (*A.S.* sine, præter, extra), in common use, prep. and simple “participle, sometimes written *bute*, whence arises the English *but* “of many significations, *bûta*, Old Fries.” (*D. G.* vol. iii. p. 263.) “It begun t’ be dark on I’r beawt scoance” (*T. B.*) “Aw waitud “o greyt whoile ofore aw cud get oer th’ rode tuth Palus beawt bein “run oer” (*R. F.*) Thorpe calls *butan* without, semi-Saxon.

Ne cymst thu butan aelmyssen on mine gesyhde. — *Exod.* xxiii. 15.

And synd buton leahltre. — *Matt.* xii. 15.

Fortham ge ne magon nan thing don butan me. — *John* xv. 6; so Luke i. 6.

And feolle ase dude Lucifer vor he was bute charge. — *Ancren Riwle*, p. 140; and one bute vere, *ibid.* p. 398; butan leave, *ibid.* p. 238.

Chaucer is quoted by Junius three times as using this word (*Tooke*, vol i. p. 203, Note.)

But temperance in tene.

But baite or tiring.

But mete or drink.

In *Piers Ploughman* we have the Lancashire word, the suffix *en* being removed.

Al thei blessing of God

Beouten thei walken. — *Creed* 1297.

This cote bout seame

To break yt were shame. — *Chester Plays*, vol. ii. p. 55.

Goe wee worck bout dyne (din). — *Ibid.* p. 47.

But the source of *eaw* will be made manifest in the following list of Anglo Saxon words with their modern English and South Lancashire representatives. *Clut*, clout, cleawt; *druncnian*, drowned, dreawnt; *ûre*, our, eawer; *ûle*, owl, eawl; *ût*, out, eawt; *fûl*, foul,

feaw (ugly); *hu*, how, heaw; *hund*, hound, heawnd; *hus*, house, heawse; *kú*, cow, keaw; *lus*, louse, leawse; *mus*, mouse, meawse; *muth*, mouth, meawth; *nú*, now, neaw; *púnd*, pound, peawnd; *runian*, rounded, reawnt (whispered); *súnd*, soundly, seawndly; *scúfan*, shoved, sheawvt; *súr*, sour, seawer; *scúr*, scour, skeawr; *tún*, town, teawn; *plume*, plumb, pleawm; *rust*, rust, reawst; *sucan*, suck, seawke; *sluma*, slumber, sleawm ("slumerian *A.S.*, slomer *Old Eng.*, slumber *Eng.*; also stupere, stupefacere, slumra *Swe.*, "sloom *Eng.*, schlummer, gloomy, träge, sloum *Cum.*; compare the "Old North *slum* n. silentium pudor, *sluma* tacere, vultum et animi demittere," *Dief.* vol. ii. p. 269). We think our monosyllable is derived from the Old North and not from the Anglo-Saxon dissyllable; sloum, (*Cr.*), not in *West. and Cumb.*; (sloom, *Wt.* and *Halli.*, as belonging to the North); sloum, slaum, *Old North*, a gentle sleep (*Jn.*); *stupian*, stoop, steawp; *thuma*, thumb, theawm (daum *Ger.*); *thúsend*, thousand, theawsend; *zyllan* (*A.S.*), howl, yawl. *Deawk*, *teawse* and *cleawds* (duck, touze, clouds), the last of not very certain derivation, are perhaps of late introduction, they are each however with *u* or *ou* as the radical vowel. The word *meawl* (*miauller*), evidently an echo to the sound a cat makes, may be classed with *cuckoo*, *peewit*, *bitter bump*, the Irish designation of a quail, "wet my lips," and the like schallwöreer. *Creawse*, set down as "very loving, lustful," in the old *Tim Bobbin* glossaries. Ray defines *crowse* "brisk, budge, lively, jolly;" "as crowse as a new washen louse."

A gray haired knight set up his head
And crackit right crouselly. — *Auld Mailand*.

Here at thy friends will crack full crowse. — *Robin Hood and the Potter*, p. 74.

"Evidently connected with *crus*, wrathful (*Havelok* 1966), and "hence perhaps crusty."

Azeyn hem was he kene and crous. — *Cursor Mundi MS.*, Trin. Col., Cantab.

Crowse, sprightly, merry, or alert. — *North*.

Such one thou art as is the little fly

Who is so crowse and gamesome with the flame. — *Drayton, Ecl. 7; Nares.*

Spr. How chear my hearts?

1st *Beggar.* Most crowse, most capringly. — *Jovial Crew.*

“*Corrouce* (Fr.) angry; *kroes* (Belg.), *kraus* (Ger.) *krus*, *krusig* (Swe.), crisp, curled, frizzled. This may be the origin, as our “term conveys the idea of a person assuming a great deal of self-importance.

Ajax for a his crouseness now

Cud na get out his sword. — *Poem; Buchan Dial.*

“The primary allusion seems to be to a cock who is said to be “crowse when he bristles up his feathers so as to make them appear “as if curled; *krusa* (Dan.), ad orno cincinnum paro” (*Jn.* and supplement). The word perhaps has its lustful meaning in the following passage from the *Chester Plays*, vol. i. p. 51:

Heare are beastes in this howse,

Heare cattes make yt crowsse,

Heare a rotten heare a mousse,

That standeth nighe togeither.

Gras, *grasse*, *graise*, *crassus*. *Causes grasses*, immodest actions; *paroles grasses*, lascivious speeches; *un gras*, a bawdie tale (*Cotgrave*). We doubt the word in *Tim Bobbin* having this meaning: “Boh has ta nau heard of tat creawse tike Stuart, and clummerheads “Finch?” This hardly justifies a conjecture removing *crowse* from its ordinary signification, and after all *crowse* like *brade* may express anything which a particular action or appearance of the body shows. The *start* or *brade* (sawte or brunt, *Prompt. Par.*; *Q. R.* liv. p. 321). “Eh brad (clapped) me een on im” (*T. B.* p. 50). “On there I’r ill breed ogen” (*ibid.* p. 37), frightened, in which sense it is frequently used by Collier. (See also Diefenbach, vol. i. p. 266, and Jamieson). So *crowse* stands figuratively for pertness, presumption, and is said to be synonymous with *kipper*¹¹ (*T. B.*), anything for

¹¹ A term applied to salmon when unfit to be taken, of unknown etymology (*T. J.*) “Go teaw on slaver Scroh o Ratchot’s in ye bin so kipper” (*T. B.*)

which a man imitates a bird in ruffling himself. *Seawl*, wet stuff to eat with bread; "An dear is sawl and cheese" (*T. B.*); "butter-milk or whey taken with oaten cake" (*Bam.*) Collier alludes to oat cake in fat or dripping. *Seawl* in Lancashire is now used for a size for silk, made of water and flower; and in the Fylde *sawlin* is the stiffening for warps (*Mr. Raines*). *Sowen* in Scotland is paste used to stiffen yarn; *sowens*, flummery made of the dust of oatmeal remaining among the seeds, steeped and soured; *seawe* (A.S.); *sogh* (Belg.); *suan* (Gallic, *Jn.*); *seawe* (A.S.), juice, moisture, glue (*Sommer*; *Bos.*)

Ceawnty, *ceawnsil*, *meawnt*, *reawnd*, are also exceptional as not being derived from words having *u* for their radical vowel; (*comté*, *conseil*, *monter*, *ronde*). But we treat the French (and we are great appropriators of their language) very much as we serve the Anglo-Saxon; the Gallic *ou* and the Saxon *ú* are both replaced by *eaw* according to our phonesis; but adopting Grimm's monitory remark, "immer bleibt die gemeine schrift hinter den feinheiten der "laute zurück" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 232, note), and remembering Mr. Garnett's characteristic of this diphthong, *eaw* may be hardly as correct a representation of the sound it would convey as *ou*. The French words which occur to us as thus naturalized in South Lancashire are *bankreawt*, *beawlt*, *creawp*, *creawn*, *deawt*, *keawerser* and *peawr*; *banqueroute*, *boule*, *croupe*, *couronne*, *douter*, *cours*, *pouvoir*. *Leawp*, loop, lub (*Erse*), and *keawr*, cower; *curian* (*Welch*), or courber (*Fr.*)

That the South Lancashire *eaw* is oral in its origin and unproduced in writing until Collier set it down is indisputable. The *eaw* of the Anglo-Saxon appears also to be the metathesis of *ae* as in *Caelin* who Bede tells us was called *Ceawlin*. There were other words having this diphthong: *Gleawcester*, Gloucester; *meaw*, a sea mew; *leawde*, lewd; *heaw*, hue; *ceaw*, chewed; *heawan*, to hew; *deaw*, dew, &c., showing an interchange between *eaw* and *u* and *ou*. Of the first description, the *ae* converted into *ea*, we possess many examples, and which indeed are generally pure English but for the double intonation in which our peasants always rejoice, just as did the

Frieslanders who so amazed Bosworth by the endless nuances they gave words. *Eat*, aet; *feather*, faether; *fear*, faer; *leady*, hlaefdig, &c.; these with us are pronounced with the true doppelter selbst laut, and are never dissyllabic.

The Anglo-Saxons appear to have added the *e* to the Old German *hauen* and *dau*, heawan deaw (*hauen thau*, Modern German); this last is *doegg* (Icel.) and *dagg* (Swe.), whence our South Lancashire *deg*, to wet, to sprinkle water on, and *dagg*, to splash, dagggle.

Wyth theyr heles dagged,

Their kirtles all to iagged,

Theyr smockes all to ragged. — *Skelton Elyn. Rum.*, 123.

“I daggyll or I dagge a thyng with myer” (*Pal.*; *Lesclar de la langue* Fr. 1530, table of verbs); *daggyde* fractillosus (*Prompt. Par.*); “pounsed and dagged clothing” (*Chau.*; *Parson’s Tale*); “jagging or foliating the edge of a garment” (*Way’s note in Prompt. Par.* in v., and *Dyce’s note, Skelton*, vol. ii. p. 163).

We must here break off. Our object is to show that the South Lancashire dialect merits an examination which it has not hitherto received. No one person can do this. A small number were it true employed by Sully to inform him of the events of his own life, but a crowd are invoked by Grimm and Dr. Trench to render complete a work of lexicography. Our diphthongs comprise almost every possible vowel combination, and we have only here briefly noticed one. Our words scattered through districts and used by a population, yet held marvellously together amongst immigrants twentyfold their number, require collection. Collier’s diligent accumulation a century ago is invaluable, but the very glossary which accompanies his book shows that his verbal knowledge was defective. Grimm (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 222) says that it yet remains to explain Anglo-Saxon to enquire closely into the play (*spielarten*) of dialects which must be gathered with a reference to place and time, and this can only be done in England. We are satisfied there is no speech so original and so important to the end thus proposed as our own neglected South Lancashire patois.

ON THE
SOUTH LANCASHIRE DIALECT.

PART II.

OF "TIM BOBBIN" AND ITS
AUTHOR.

PART II.

A CENTURY has passed since Collier remarked that commerce, intercourse with strangers and education were lessening the purity of our vernacular. These causes have since been in increasing operation, and though the genuine patois may still be discriminated amidst the Babel of tongues with which it is intermixed, yet the speech of earlier times is most valuable to the philologist.

Mr. Halliwell in the preface to his *Dictionary* refers to two ancient specimens of the Lancashire dialect. The first (*Lansd. MSS.* 560, fo. 45, circ. 1440) consists of Latin hexameters to facilitate the acquiring of nouns, with an English translation which we see no reason to claim as ours. *Bely, follis*, is our ballis, doris (hostia, for the aspirates are here misplaced), with us *dur, hows heawse, hale ele, nayl nele*, &c. The second is a letter (or speech?) in Braithwaite's *Lancashire Lovers*, and is a very meagre specimen and only connected with our tongue as containing the verbs *han* and *don*.

Although the interesting collection of words and letters accumulated by Mr. Harland, (Notes to *Shuttleworth Accounts*, part iii. p. 751,) might belong at the period they were used to any part of the island, yet they contain much which it is important to our enquiry to examine. For the writers of these Accounts lived before conventionalism had bound speech in its rigid and enduring fetters, when orthoepy and orthography were supposed to be unfixed and subject to constant mutation.

Our sons their fathers' falling language see,
And such as Chaucer is shall Dryden be. — *Pope*.

Thus the great Anglo-Saxon diphthong *ae* (*aec*, *eac*, *an oak*, *ae*, *ea*, *water*) still retained its versatility; *faythur*, *feathur*, *maystur*, *meastur*, *waytur*, *weatur*; *a* was changed into *o* or *e*; *d*, *t* and *th* replaced each other; *r* before or after a vowel suffered metathesis; *an* attached the second letter to the following noun, as in *Tim Bobbin*; *a nominy*, *a noon* (*oon*, *oven*), *a nawstler*, *a neecom* and *neeam*, *a noant*, *a noger* (*auger*), *noun*, &c. These and many other lingual anomalies once universal are now perpetuated orally in South Lancashire, and their value is in exhibiting the English language as it worked its way to its present excellence.

The *Shuttleworth Accounts* are not however kept in *Tim Bobbin's* dialect. *Bowlton*, *cowlt*, *stoullen*, *foulk* savor of Scottish; with us they are spelt *Bowtun*, &c., omitting the *l* and *fok*. *Here*, *peper*, *cunstableye*, *outtes*, *clode*, *fool* (*fowl*), *lewe*, *brekefast*, *dower*, *louppe*, *mane*, *lade*, *fee*, *rowme*, *ayther*, would not do service in the Salford hundred for *hure*, *papper*, *cunstable*, *whoats*, *cleawd*, *feawl*, *lawm*, *breckfust*, *dur*, *leawp*, *mon*, *lad*, *fey*, *reawm*, *oather*. The want of *eaw* in the *Shuttleworth MSS.* is sufficient to show that they were not concocted by the countrymen of *Tim Bobbin*, and *oy* or *oi* is also not there.

Of this diphthong, which Dr. Latham (*Gram.* vol. i. p. 381) assigns to Cheshire, Halifax and East Anglia, we have several examples in Collier. *Choynge*, *cloyse*, *droy*, *droyve*, *foyer*, *groyn*, *hoyde*, *hoyse*, *loyt*, *loyse*, *oytch*, *sloytch*, *moider*. *Oi*, *loike*, *troy*, *whoyle*, *quoite*, &c. are in more recent local books. In the North this diphthong seems confined to South Lancashire and its immediate neighbourhood, and generally represents *u* or its substitutes *i* or *y*. *Oi*, *oy* is neither Teutonic (ein undeutscher diphth. welcher nur in romanischen wörten beibehalten, *D. G.* vol. i. p. 354) nor Scandinavian, and seems with us taken from the Norman. It is unknown to the Craven and Westmoreland and Cumberland tongues.

We are unable to find an earlier or a better example of the South Lancashire vernacular than that which John Collier of Milnrow has left us. A hundred and twenty years have passed since the materials for *Tim Bobbin* were begun to be gathered, and the author and

his circumstances were singularly adapted for the compilation of such a book.

The Rev. John Collier the father of the author of *Tim Bobbin* was descended from a race of small landholders¹² at Newton in

¹² The CHETHAM SOCIETY are indebted to the Rev. Canon Raines for the following valuable account of the Collier family. It is for the most part in the handwriting of John Collier of Milnrow, and is transcribed from his family Bible, 4to, 1610. On the titlepage is written "John Collier, 1729. The first ed. of the Bible was printed by one Fust, A.D. 1462."

Robert Collier, descended from the Colliers of Chowbent, Lancashire, married an heiress, named Harrison of Harrison Fold in Newton, Mottram parish, in Cheshire. His son,

John Collier, (commonly called "the cavalier,") married one of the family of Beeley. His son,

Nathan Collier, of Harrison Fold aforesaid, married the daughter of one Shaw of Slackwait in the county of York, yeoman. He had two sons, of whom Nathan ob. April 5th, 1763, and

John Collier, curate of Hollins Green in Warrington, died at Newton, Mottram, 1739, married Mary Cook of in the parish of Winwick. She died at Hollins Green about 1726. They had issue Robert, Mary, Hannah, Elizabeth, Sarah, Nathan, John, Benjamin and Joseph. Mary died at Salford April 11th, 1735; Benjamin died at Worcester 1735; Robert died in London 31st December 1749; Nathan died in London some few years before Robert; Sally died October 22nd, 1760; Hannah died 1770; Elizabeth died January 1st, 1772; Joseph died in London, the time uncertain.

John, son of John Collier, clerk, born in Urmston January 18th, 1708. (There is a certificate from the Flixton Register appended, making it January 6th; and Mr. Waugh, who copied from the Register, has another date, — probably written in forgetfulness that the old style was then used). He married Mary Clay of Flockton in the county of York, April 1st, 1744. He had with her some fortune. Their children were:

1. John, born February 24th 1744–5, died 1815; married twice, first Elizabeth Rankin of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and had two daughters; and secondly Elizabeth Howard (alias Forster) of Rochdale, and had issue an only son Edward, whose son John is now living.

2. Thomas Collier, ob. s.p.

3. Charles, the portrait painter, born 1749, married Mrs. Singleton, died s.p. circ. 1816.

Sally, born 1751, married twice, died s.p.

Nancy, born 1755, married Mr. James Clegg of Milnrow, by whom she had issue three sons and two daughters, who all died unmarried except Mary, the wife of Mr. John Clegg of Rochdale, and the mother of Mr. James Clegg now of Milnrow.

Betty, born 1760, married twice, first Charles Milne of Milnrow; they had a son and two daughters; the elder married to James Brearley of Milnrow, the other to William Whitworth of Rochdale. By her second marriage, with Chadwick, she had one daughter, and died at Milnrow February 1843.

Mottram, Cheshire, and appears to have been the younger of two sons. His elder brother long surviving him we may conclude John was left to provide for himself as best he might. He was born 1682, and styles himself minister of Stretford^{12a} in 1706, being licensed to Eccles school in the same year. This school was neither free nor then endowed (*Notitia Cest.* vol. ii. part i. p. 53). Stretford chapel depended almost entirely on a voluntary contribution of ten pounds per annum (*Ibid.* p. 95). Collier resided at Urmston, and had also a small school there. In 1709 he is styled curate of Eccles. There is no certainty as to the period when he was ordained deacon. In 1716 John Collier a literate was admitted to perform or discharge the office of deacon at Hollinfare (Hollins Green), "ad peragendum officium Diaconi" (Gastrell's *Register*). In 1722 he became partially blind.^{12b} In June, 1725, with many others he was compelled to take priest's orders at Chester. His wife died at Hollins Green 1726, and the poor curate and school-master withdrew from a world that had not smiled upon him in 1739 at Newton in Mottram.

John Collier, the third son of the above, was born in 1708 at Urmston,¹³ and thus speaks of his youth: "He's Lancashire born. "In the reign of Queen Anne he was a boy and one of the nine children of a poor curate in Lancashire, whose stipend never amounted "to thirty pounds a year, and consequently the family must feel the "iron teeth of penury with a witness. These indeed were some times "blunted by the charitable disposition of the good rector¹⁴ the Rev. "Mr. Haddon of Warrington." Hollinfare was in his parish; he was rector from 1723 to 1767. "So this Tim Bobbin lived as "some other boys did, content with water porridge, buttermilk and "jannock till he was between thirteen and fourteen years of age,

^{12a} Register Book at Stretford.

^{12b} "Probably the sight of one eye only was affected, and this seems to be perpetuated in a portrait of him in the possession of Mr. James Clegg of Milnrow, in a blue coat and scratch wig, sitting in a large chair, and reading a book, which he holds "at a distance with both hands. He has an acute expression, and apparently aged "about 50."—R.

¹³ *Birthplace of Tim Bobbin*, by Mr. Waugh, 1858.

¹⁴ "From a memorial in his own handwriting."—*Tim Bobbin*, Westall's ed. 1819. For Haddon, see *Byrom's Remains*, vol. i. p. 45.

“when Providence began to smile upon him in his advancement to
 “a pair of Dutch looms, when he met with treacle to his pottage,
 “and sometimes a little for his buttermilk. However, the recollec-
 “tion of his father’s former circumstances (which now and then
 “start up and still edge his teeth), make him believe that pluralities
 “are no good,” &c. — (Dedication of the *Book of Heads*.)

The father estimating highly his son John’s talents endeavoured to bring him up to the Church, but when afflicted with blindness the elder Collier, being about forty years old, sent the boy to a trade. “Went prentice in May 1722 to one Johnson a Dutch loom weaver “on Newton Moor in the parish of Mottram, but hating slavery “in all shapes, I by divine Providence, vailing my skull cap to the “mitres in November 1727, commenced schoolmaster at Milnrow.”¹⁵ He styled himself for many years after he had abandoned the loom, his apprenticeship to which only lasted twelve months, “Tim Bobbin, “Fellow of the Sisyphean Society of Dutch Loom Weavers.”¹⁶

Having thus emancipated himself from everything but the necessity of obtaining food, clothing and lodging, John Collier entered upon his wild career. “Though then very young (fifteen years old) “he soon commenced itinerant schoolmaster, going about the coun- “try from one small town to another to teach reading, writing and “accounts.” (*T.*¹⁷) Being at Oldham he heard that Mr. Pearson, curate and schoolmaster at Milnrow, wanted an assistant in the school, and after a short examination he was admitted as sub-master, and equally divided the salary of twenty pounds with the other.

¹⁵ *Tim Bobbin*, 1819.

¹⁶ The allusion to Sisyphus justifies the silence as to this loom in the common Histories of the Cotton Manufacture. “The Dutch loom was brought to England by “some Flemish artizans in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and their principal “settlement was at Bolton-le-Moors.” Those who adopted them had an advantage over the old English loom. “The shuttle was thrown, and caught by the hands of “the weaver, and the Dutch looms continued to be popular until the invention of “Kay’s fly-shuttle, for which there was a patent 1733.”—(*R.*)

¹⁷ *T.*, for Colonel Townley of Belfield, son of Richard Townley, mercer, of Rochdale, and steward for Mr. Alexander Butterworth of Belfield. This last gentleman died, aged eighty-eight, in 1728, and left his property, having no relations, to his steward, who was succeeded by Richard Townley his son and ‘Tim Bobbin’s friend.

As this school, with the exception of an interval of some months was served or professedly served by Collier from 1729 to 1786, some knowledge of it is essential to his biography.

"The free school at Milnrow was built by Richard Townley of Rochdale, mercer, in 1724, and endowed by deed 18th August 1726 by Alexander Butterworth of Belfield Esq. with £20 per annum, the nomination of a master being reserved to the owner of Belfield Hall for the time being. The first master appointed was the Rev. Robert Pearson B.A. incumbent of Milnrow, who was a not very reputable agent of Townley, and who probably never taught the scholars, but divided the salary between himself and one Richard Hill and others," (John Collier in his turn), "who passed as ushers to Pearson though put in by Townley." (*Chancery Proc.* 22 Jan. 1735; *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xiii. p. 288, *R.*) Pearson the incumbent was an intelligent person, brother to the Rev. John Pearson rector of Eccleston. He was a frequenter of taverns, a bachelor, and lived in lodgings in Rochdale with Townley's brother-in-law. Why the family of Townley instituted a school to be thus supported we cannot now ascertain; it looks like

The wife of Townley the draper was a daughter of William Greaves of Gartside Hall near Rochdale, a superior yeoman. He had a son William Greaves, whose rise in life was not less remarkable than that of his relatives the Townleys. He was born in 1699 and died 10th March, 1787.--(*Gent. Mag.* vol. lvii. p. 277.) He was steward for Trinity College, Cambridge, and commissary of the University and fellow of Clare Hall. He purchased Fulbourne (Cambridge) in 1742 (Lyson's *Cambr.*), and through his wife became possessed of considerable Norfolk property, finally adding "Beaupré Bell" to his name on that account. He educated Colonel Townley carefully, having no children of his own, but the nephew turning out an extravagant person he left his property to his great-nephew, the colonel's son, the father of the late member for Cambridgeshire. For William Greaves, see *Byrom's Remains*, vol. i. p. 339. He figures in the Bentley period. Colonel Townley was a learned and intelligent person, and his friendship for Collier, like that of Haddon for the curate at Hollinfare, affords a different testimony to the qualities of father and son than we otherwise obtain. Townley liked Collier and his predecessor at the school, Pearson, probably because they, like himself, sought the punch and tobacco of the neighbouring taverns; both were clever and entertaining men, and neither had that education which enabled him to assume a superiority over his patron. Townley died in 1802.

a stratagem for procuring influence over Butterworth. The teaching did not go beyond reading, writing, and the elementary parts of arithmetic. The real duty seems to have been to be agreeable to the patron at Belfield Hall. Collier twice tells us that he began his Milnrow career in 1729, but he did not until 1742 "vail his scull cap to the mitres," that is, procure his licence from the Bishop. Pearson died in 1739, and the twenty pounds a year then passed to the usher. We have no account of Collier's life from 1723 to 1739. Some amatory effusions of this date are printed; in one, April 1736, the signature "Tim" occurs, and "Tim Bobbin" is appended to the dedication of "The Blackbird," 1739, a satire on Justice Edward Chetham of Castleton, a barrister and wealthy neighbour. Through life Collier overlooked the facility with which his own proceedings might be attacked. Political justices and self-indulgent pluralists may be social nuisances, but careless pedagogues are still greater. Teaching and roaming filled up the measure of Collier's bachelor days. Corry calls these the happiest years of his life, and in them he betrayed great qualities; for with no ostensible advantages, and indeed surrounded with difficulties, he acquired a knowledge of drawing, music, painting, modelling, and etching, which however imperfect is truly wonderful when we remember the circumstances under which they were attained. If Hogarth's discipline in art, gained in London from a cutter of heraldic devices, is matter of surprise, what must be thought of a person who endeavoured to become an artist in the wildest parts of Lancashire in the eighteenth century? Townley says of Collier: "He drew landscapes in good taste, understanding 'the rules of perspective, and attempted some heads in profile with 'very decent success.'" These he abandoned for caricature. Like Teniers and Jan Steen, Collier attempted sacred subjects. "At Shaw 'chapel on each side of the east window are still large figures of 'Moses and Aaron painted in oils on board by him, and at Milnrow a figure of an angel with a trumpet in his mouth, and holding 'a scroll in one hand on which the psalm was announced from the 'singing loft" (*R.*) He was also a carriage and sign painter, and the drinking rooms and stairs of public houses, even to Newcastle-

upon-Tyne, were adorned by his works. His sons, in default of higher employment, were house painters occasionally, and so probably was the father. "He was ingenious as a sculptor, and I have "seen one or two figures cut by him in ivory" (R.). Like Hogarth, whom he imitated, Collier finally adopted etching, and finding it the most profitable art, surrendered to it his other pursuits. Notwithstanding the humour which he could not fail to throw into every thing he produced, and though South Lancashire (before it had Art Treasures exhibitions) diligently patronised its native painter, yet Collier's pictorial works are really below criticism. His object is buffoonery, and even this he had never sufficient knowledge of drawing and painting to set forth. He strained after expression and became barbarous and grotesque. There is not a ray of taste in any thing we ever saw of his doing. He both took and copied portraits one an autograph effigy of himself, swung over the Milnrow inn after 1770, and is engraved as the frontispiece of *The Human Passions Delineated*. In 1774 amongst other pictures Collier wishes to send to London "the head of the chameleon, Dr. Shebbeare,¹⁸ the best "head I ever painted."

It is evident that from an early period our dialect had become the study of Collier. He collected the materials of *Tim Bobbin* in the "pot houses" in which so much of his life was passed, and where (as with Hogarth) a broken head or a drunken fight furnished welcome additions to his note book and portfolio. Not that Collier philosophically observed the gradual elimination of character under intoxication; he rather acted the part of Goldsmith's squire at "The Three Jolly Pigeons," and hence the truthfulness of the descriptions in *Tim Bobbin*. An oral language cannot be collected by the means by which Jacob Grimm and Dr. Trench propose to replenish our Dictionaries. The books in which dialects exist are living men, and there never will again be found so inveterate a rambler, so great a lover of mixing with his species, or one so capable of turning all he

¹⁸ For Shebbeare, see Lord Stanhope's *History of England*, 1763, and *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1758-9 and 1777.

saw and heard to profit, as Collier; and he further prepared himself by reading for his task. Dr. Whitaker somewhere says he was a good Saxon scholar. It was not possible for one of Collier's temperament and habits to deserve such an eulogium, but he evidently read for his work on the dialect. We find him possessed of "several Saxon collections with English versions," "Somner's Vocabulary," "Chaucer,"¹⁹ "The Scotch Glossary," "Gawain Douglas' Virgil," &c. The Glossary to *Tim Bobbin* is even in this day a very creditable work, witness the use made of it by Jamieson, Carr, and others.

In 1739 Collier succeeded to the school at Milnrow. Twelve pupils were taught gratis, the rest were paid for. He did much of his work by deputy; the assistant, Thomas Belfield, "a man of humble powers," he designated his curate; and thus ensuring to himself money and leisure, he felt at liberty to advance his fortunes by those methods most congenial to his instincts. He was the lively

¹⁹ Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* he acquired in 1769. It was a Caxton, and is noticed in a letter to Henry Whitaker of Manchester November 26th, 1770: "The two Whitakers were brothers from Rossendale; one of whom, Henry, was a school-master at Manchester, and the other, Robert, a land surveyor and steward to Colonel Townley." — (R.) Collier occasionally assisted the latter, and both were his constant friends. "I have found out the true worth of a book I purchased the last year. I knew it to be a valuable curiosity, but now I find it much more so; it is Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; and I take it to be the fourth or fifth book that ever was printed in England." — (Westall's ed. of *Tim Bobbin*, 1819, p. 366.) He adds: "There are but two copies besides mine known to be in England, and these imperfect, and so is this of mine, for I think it wants two leaves at the beginning." He supplied these in his own perfect method, being admirably skilled in copying types. The book passed into the hands of his descendant, Charles Collier, who lent it to various persons, and amongst others to one who sold it for a large sum to Earl Spencer. The family of Collier hearing rumours of this sale applied to the borrower for the book, who thus wrote 14th July, 1815: "It is reported that I have sold that imperfect book I bought of Charles Collier for a deal of money. I deny the report. I have neither sold it nor yet given it to anybody; but I will confess this, that I have lent the book to a gentleman for a few months. It contains 276 leaves or 552 pages, and very imperfect for all that. One was sold at Mr. Evan's sale in London, 12th May, by auction, for the large sum of £48, or guineas, but in good preservation." On application being made to Lord Spencer, and stating that the book had been borrowed and sold without the knowledge of the owner, and requesting to know the sum given for it, Lord Spencer sent £5, adding that he kept no account of the sums given for books. — (R.)

suitor in verse and prose of the neighbouring damsels. He presided over the symposia in the Roebuck at Rochdale, the Falcon at Littleborough, and the alehouse at Milnrow. He wrote satirical verses, but when he made the fruits of his brain first profitable for money we are not informed.

On the 1st of April 1744, John Collier married at Helmsley, Mary Clay of Flockton near Wakefield, he being thirty-six she twenty-one years old. She was possessed of some property, and her father bought and gave the young couple the house in which they resided at Milnrow. A more ill-assorted match could apparently hardly have been made; yet we believe, owing to Mrs. Collier's good sense, it was less unhappy than might have been expected. The husband was neither unkind nor absolutely careless of the obligations imposed upon him, provided he might discharge them after his own fashion. His duties and affections were squared to his habits, and he certainly kept clear of the disgraceful family jars which darken the career of his idol and contemporary, the profligate Churchill.

Mr. Townley describes Mrs. Collier as a "virtuous, discreet, sensible and prudent woman, a good wife and an excellent mother." We suspect her greatest praise is here omitted, and that she was a sincere Christian, and married to a person who represented Whitefield and the Devil singing psalms in one of his pictures. Mary Clay had been brought up at Ledstone by the pious Lady Elizabeth Hastings, and after the death of that memorable person she passed some time in London with her aunt, Mrs. Pitt, who was married to an officer of the Tower, and being on a visit to another aunt, Mrs. Butterworth at Milnrow, there encountered her future husband. Corry says (*T. B.* edit. 1819) that "Collier devoted so much of his wife's fortune to large potations that it was soon dissipated." We trust this is not true, and no authority is given. "He then became sober and led a more regular life, which made Mrs. Collier aver she was glad when the money was all gone." We find this excellent person offering her gentle protest against her husband's excesses, yet maintaining his respect and affection. We gather this inci-

dentially : " And thinking I had enough went home almost as sober as you could wish me ;" " I got to bed pretty soon, but not drunk, Madam, as I fancy I hear you think ;" " I went, or if you please, Madam, staggered to bed ;" are passages in a letter addressed to Mrs. Collier when the writer was seventy-three years old. The habit of drinking was held much less revolting then than now. When the wife in Collier's *Quack Doctor* complains that her helpmate " from morning till night is eternally in the alehouse," he replies : " Its genteel, the Squire does the same." Amongst Mrs. Collier's friends was the wealthy widow Mrs. Hardman of Allerton near Liverpool, who died in 1795, aged ninety-three. The influence exercised by Mrs. Collier, amidst so much that would give it the intensity surrounding darkness gives to light, must have been felt in her domestic circle. One of her children, Mrs. Chadwick, who died at an extreme age in 1843, maintained to the last the character of a sensible and pious person ; and perhaps if others of her daughters had been known to the present time, we might here record the happiness they derived from their mother's principles.

On the 12th of June 1751 Collier went as bookkeeper to Mr. Hill of Kebroyd near Halifax, removing with his family, and here he remained seven months, and thus speaks (5th Jan. 1752) of his escape from the regular service and high pay of that place : " I'm upon the " eve of being John Duke of Milnrow again, for my rib with my bag " and baggage are gone over the hills into merry Lancashire, and " twelve teams of devils shall not bring them hither again." He regarded this Yorkshire service as a transformation " from being a little monarch into a kind of slave." His constant friend Mr. Townley reinstated him in the school, and perhaps a more unfit person for such a duty could hardly have been chosen.

Collier thus rejecting affluence, applied himself vigorously to his own methods of supporting himself. In April 1758 we find him at Chester. " I paint sometimes at Mr. Brown's a coachmaker here" (*W.*²⁰ p. 292). In November 1755 he was a candidate with two

²⁰ *W.* for Westall's edition of *Tim Bobbin*, with many original letters. Rochdale, 1819.

others for the place of organist in Rochdale church. "That as I am "undoubtedly the worst player of the three, for which reason I stand "the best chance, I desire all justices to give me their votes and interest in procuring the snug convenience of twenty pounds a year." He was we suppose utterly unqualified to play the organ, for he proposed doing the work by deputy (*W.* p. 294).

His friend Henry Whitaker writes to him (1st April 1758): "I "don't like your being so often on the wing, for should the lamp of "life be wafted out in some unguarded hour or some unpremeditated "adventure, in vain may Tim's family and friends puff and blow at "the dying spark." They had evidently been in a carouse together and parted drunk. Collier replies: "You say you got well home; "so did I, only 'twas the day after. So pray, sir, banish all care on "this account, and remember 'drunken fok ar' sed'n hurt,' and that " 'nowt's neer eh dawnger.' Perhaps you'll say, These are but poor "bandages to wrap a broken leg or arm, too weak to pull in a dislocated neck, and too airy to maintain a widow and seven children. "True, sir; but they'll do at present, and in future I don't intend to "want 'em. You talk something of the lamp of life being wafted "out; but what the pox, must not I trim my lamp now and then "for fear of snuffing it out? . . . Indeed I start at the loss my friends "will have should I break my neck — hold, no, most of 'em will "bear up under such a dismal misfortune; and I think all of them "together (by clubbing) will take care (should I neglect it) to see "my epitaph cut on the stone I have by me, and then let the rest I "leave behind me piddle for shives" (trifle for chips). He concludes: "Tell me whether Chetham of Castleton, or John Grime at Collyhurst "who works on twelve or fourteen pence a day, is the happier man? "For my part I know what it is to want breakfast, dinner and supper all of one day, and perhaps but one meal the next, and I know "how to live as well as any gent. in the north, and yet hang Tim if "he does not think the scale with poverty in it draws." (*R.*) This was a piece of self-deception:

Me silva cavusque

Tutus ab insidiis, tenui solabitur ervo — *Hor.*

was no sentiment of Collier's; rather he would have said, if he knew himself :

Aspernarer ego mundum,
Nisi mundus me jucundum
Bonis sociis, radiis vitæ
Sociali tinctis siti
Celebraret. — *Barnabæ Itin.*

He had followed a rambling dissipated life until the impulse to secure its existence grew as irresistible as we are told the cravings of hunger are to the mole. Thus overpowered we must not be surprised to find the spendthrift and the sordid person united.²¹ The accounts Collier kept are very intelligible and minute. His handwriting was extremely good when he chose to make it so. He had great flexibility both with pen and pencil, and also with the diamond in drawing on glass. Had he been allowed the advantages of proper training and a familiarity with good models, his head was capable and his hand dexterous, and he might have been an artist. Amidst his reckonings he could not resist jotting down an occasional thought like the following :

What greater plagues or what can happen worse,
Than being cramp'd in body, mind, and purse.

There are also memoranda for the Lancashire dialect fenced in with figures :

Het is not explained in the Lancashire dialect,
Raise a reek like a bracken burner.

His profusion he justified as being calculated. In 1773 he thus replies to a covert attack on his extravagance made by his son Charles :
"I observe what you say on an extravagant way of living, which I
"hope you will not practise so much as I have done, tho' all my
"acquaintance agree that I had never gained one half of the friends
"and money I have done if I had been of a penurious disposition."

²¹ Alieni appetens sui profusus — *Sal.*

(*R.*) There is no question that he regarded taverns and convivial meetings as opportunities for the sale of his books, pictures and prints, which he was always pressing.

The account book of 1773 gives us an insight into the resources and manner of living of our Lancashire humorist. He seems in constant movement. Some of his works were disposed of in the way of barter. "Delivered a book" (of prints) "to coz. John Hulm, to have a hat for it." "Exchanged a book of *Human Passions* for 3 lb. of thread at 3/ 4 lb.; blue tape ½d. 4 y^d; tape 1d. a knot; a gross of laces." "Left at coz. John Ogden's 3 books, one half-bound, 2 stitched, the half-bound one to have a hat for it or nothing." "Paid Jas. Kenyon a book for a wig." The greater part of his wares were packed in his wallet, and borne by himself or forwarded by carrier to meet him in the towns. Sometimes he is repulsed, thus at Ecclestone Hall he enters: "Called, bad come to call again — mum." "Sold Mr. Hanson a book for 16/ (bad guinea.)"

In 1773 Collier's *Human Passions Delineated* are stated in the proposals to be "designed in the Hogarthian taste, very useful for young practitioners in drawing"(!) Hogarth's unfortunate expedients for selling his pictures were also imitated. "Roebuck, Rochdale, September 4, 1777. Proposals of raffling by subscription for "the most capital picture of Tim Bobbin's painting. The hopes "of the family. Conditions: That there be fourteen subscribers "at five shillings each. The dice two, and at the most at three "throws win the picture. The winner to spend four shillings, and "the painter other four amongst the subscribers present. If any "dispute arise, to be determined by a majority. He who cannot "attend may substitute another to throw for him, which will be as "soon as the number is complete, and the money to be paid before "the dice are thrown." Three subscribers' names follow, Colonel Townley, Collier's constant friend, Captain Dawson and James Holland attorney. (*R.*) Hogarth's failure in defending his copyrights in the action against Jeffereys might be supposed to have induced Collier to protect himself under a like wrong rather than try Acts of Parliament and Courts. He early was curious about

"one Bunbury," and copied his works, although the publics for which these two artists laboured were widely separated.

The sums of money Collier raised by his various expedients were large. There are 323 subscribers at fifteen shillings each to the *Delineation of the Human Passions*. Amongst these are Mr. Egerton of Oulton, who gave a guinea. Mr. Parker of Cuerden took five copies, and Mr. Hulton of Hulton three. Sir Thomas Egerton, Sir Harbord Harbord, with Messrs. Ashton Lever, Dorn-ing Rasbotham, Gilbert (Worsley), Pickford (Royton), Radclyffe (Foxdenton), Gregge (Chamber Hall), Holland Ackers, Henry (apothecary), Gore Booth, Nathaniel Milne, Richard Fox, and Mrs. Aytoun (Manchester) are patrons. At Halifax he had many friends. Collier was full of confidence as to the prospective success of his etchings. "If anything happen me," he writes to his son Charles, in August 1773: "I hope my Book of Heads will bring "your mother forty pounds or fifty pounds per annum, and expect "they will be little fortunes for your sisters when your mother and "me are no more." The prints of "the Pluralist" for some years previously to 1773 were very popular, and sold at ninepence each. Here Collier's most intense feelings were engaged, for he, no doubt, was satisfied his father would have had a better chance had one living been apportioned to each clergyman.

In 1762 (*W.* p. 321) Collier's paintings were required for the West Indies, and he also exchanged them for wine. But his great attention to money matters is nowhere more decidedly evinced than in the two negotiations for the marriages of his sons, John in 1768, Charles in 1773. Of the first he writes (*W.* p. 357): "The lad's "smitten with no beauty and with no great fortune, I believe it will "be £400." There appears to be nothing on the son's side, and he received the money unconditionally. "Here I have shewn, I "think for the first time, my worldly-mindedness, and made, in a "love affair, an arrant bargain." (*W.* p. 361.) The second had been chosen by a Roman Catholic, the widow of a contractor for horses for government, aged forty-eight, he being twenty-two and a Protestant. He writes at Kendal, August 11th 1773: "Will ma-

“trimony admit of a strict examination with my mother and you, “with regard to one that is twice the age of me? ’tis without doubt “she likes me, and I admire her money; she has £100 per annum “and a well furnished house, and she is endued with judiciousness, “but one would not imagine she was by fixing on me. . . . I have “meditated long upon this affair, and I really think now that her “good sense and fortune is an adequate recompense for the deficiency “of youth and beauty; pray consider of it. I am in no hurry, but if “it is to be I wish it over.” The father states the communication is very welcome to him, that he has known youth and beauty add much misery to married life, and has “heard several wish they had “married meer dowdies.” “If the object you point at be but about “forty-eight, a good-natured and sensible woman, I give my hearty “consent.” He then urges his son as soon as he is able to lend him one hundred pounds. “But hark you, dear Charles, you do not say “where or in what her estate consists. Have you seen the title-deeds? or what debts are owing? whether married before? if so, “what children she has? whether the estate goes not from her on “marrying again? whether in any business? whether the estate goes “from you on her decease?”

There is an interesting letter of Collier’s to Monsieur Delacour, a painter at Edinburgh, January 13th 1760 (*W.* p. 305). They had met four year before at Chester. Vaudermijn, Pickering, Bowcock, Jones and Gallino were then the portrait painters in this part of the country, and were friends of Collier’s. Astley the painter had arrived at Chester, and his appearance created a profound sensation. His large portrait of himself once at Dukinfield exhibits him as a handsome person, and an artist of a class almost beyond the comprehension of Collier and his friends. “Mr. Astley from London “has been some time at Chester and the adjacent towns. Report “says he is a very handsome and polite gentleman, of about £200 a “year; he dresses gay, keeps a chariot and livery man, and will not “touch the canvas under eight guineas a head.” Astley was a good artist, and the pay here designated by no means extravagant. He is best known in Cheshire from having at this visit, and Collier chroni-

cles the affair, obtained the hand of Lady Daniel Dukenfield (Penelope Vernon of Hilton, Staffordshire), who had been since 1758 the widow of Sir William Daniel Duckinfield, in whom two large and ancient families were centred, the Daniels of Tabley and the Duckinfields of Duckinfield. There was a daughter who soon after this marriage died, and the mother following, Astley married again and conveyed these large estates to strangers. In this letter Collier speaks thus disparagingly of his own art: "I follow my old trade
 "of boggart painting, and find fools enough to buy them as fast as I
 "can paint them; and often thank God he did not create man-
 "kind without a large number of fools in the species, and that so very
 "few of them understand painting. I live very well; I keep a horse
 "of my own, and neither borrow saddle nor bridle, and in summer
 "ride three or four times a week to the bowling green at Rochdale.
 "I have a cow, also a pig, two ducks and a cat. In the name of
 "St. Luke what would a painter have more?" (*W.* p. 308).

In March 1765 Collier entertained the idea of getting into the Church and filling the curacy of Unsworth (*W.* p. 234). It was a monstrous intention in one who in so many places has shown that he lightly held the principles of Christianity, and especially in the letter to Mrs. Collier, September 10th 1780 (*W.* p. 386). In December 1766 he rode to York with his son John (*W.* p. 338). In December 1767 (the time chosen for these long rides was not the best) he set off to Newcastle-upon-Tyne where his sons John and Charles were. "I got into York in good time. The person I would first
 "speak to was my friend Mr. Atkinson, who (excuse vanity) jumped
 "for joy on seeing me. He conducted me to a good inn, sent billets
 "or cards immediately to such as would be agreeable company to us,
 "and ordered supper at my inn. There were present His Grace the
 "Duke of Milnrow, my friend Atkinson carver and projector, Mons.
 "Boutalts a good history and portrait painter a Fleming, Mr. Rus-
 "sell writing master, Mr. Hindley a noted mechanic and clock
 "maker, and a merry captain. These were a set of the best natured
 "mortals I ever passed an hour with since my name was Tim. I
 "need not tell you how we spent the evening; but happening to

"show them my *Battle of the Flying Dragon* they made me read it "twice that night and once the next morning. We parted about "twelve, all merry but sober; (tell this to my crooked rib as a won-
"der)." It was not frequently that Collier's festivities had so justifiable a character.

Thus jesting, drinking, painting, and etching, the inevitable hour approached. There was directing the fate of his sons and especially the eldest, a Nemesis engendered in the father's irregular life. These sons on being emancipated from paternal supervision, as Collier tells us, sold all their Milnrow garments: "Charles has got a pink bloom "suit dyed in grain of twenty shillings a yard. John has several "suits of fine black cloth of the same price, and both laugh at my "church going suit of three and sixpence a yard" (*W.* p. 395). The appearance, dress, and manner of these young men were above their station in life. The origin of John's (the eldest) misfortunes was politics, and warring with government and the corporation of Newcastle. He wrote prose and verse, exciting himself to the utmost; lost his wife and sought retirement in Lancashire; made a second and unfortunate marriage there; treated his wife brutally; joined in politics again, carried pistols and fired at the editor of a newspaper. He was deemed insane, and closed his life in a lunatic asylum in 1815.

Thomas the second son was at first apprentice with John at Newcastle, but quarrelled and left him. In 1768 he was in London, and was employed by George Alexander Stevens, whose *Lectures on Heads* are well known. Thomas had a natural son, an auctioneer in Rochdale, who published an edition of Tim Bobbin's *Human Passions Delineated*, 1809.

Of Charles's marriage we have already spoken. He too was apprentice with John at Newcastle, but settled as a portrait painter at Kendal in 1772. He was a fine looking man, but eccentric and extravagant.

The last letter we have seen of John Collier (*T. B.*) is written in a tremulous hand, and is addressed 2nd November 1783 to his son:

"Things remain as you left 'em. Bet is gone to house in part of

"ours. They are all well but your poor mother; she is something
 "better, but not much. Rich. and Sal. drive on, but my old peepers
 "cannot pierce far into futurity. I have painted a good deal of
 "things since you left us, sold some, and drink punch betimes still
 "as customers come in. Make sure to keep sober, which is more
 "than he cou'd do who is, dear Charles, your loving Father."

In his religion Collier was altogether unsound; and in his politics
 a hater of kings. The two absurd couplets here given were found
 in one of his pocket books, to be, we suppose, enjoyed in secret.

I hate all k — s and the rogues who wait on 'em,
 Knaves swarm so at court, and flattery's so common.

To these misfortunes of royalty, if it really is so afflicted, Collier
 could only give a testimony gathered at Milnrow.

I hate all the kings and those who attend them,
 And wish that stocks, gibbets and ropes may amend them.

It is recorded on the gravestone in Rochdale church yard that
 "John Collier died 14th July 1786, aged 75 [78], 'Tim Bobbin,'
 "also Mary his wife died 4th June 1786, aged 63." "The fool-
 "ish doggerel cut on the gravestone, said to be written by himself
 "twenty minutes before he expired, was written by his grandson
 "Thomas Collier in 1818, when it was inscribed on the stone,
 "much to the annoyance of Dr. Drake the vicar, who was not con-
 "sulted, and said he should give orders for its removal, which he
 "seems to have omitted doing." (*R.*)

The written works of Collier, with the exception of *Tim Bobbin*
 (the dialogue in the Lancashire dialect), are multifarious, and occupy
 their places in his printed works in the wake of this his best essay,
 as heavy barges behind a steam tug are kept moving by a force
 they are incapable of finding for themselves. There are two tracts
 (1771, 1781) impugning Whittaker's *History of Manchester* (1771,
 1775); the learning for these Colonel Townley found, and the jocu-
 larity, which is out of place, was Collier's share. Together they

were not capable of measuring themselves with Whittaker, whose book will always remain a valuable contribution towards our knowledge of the doings of the Romans in Britain. Satire was the bent of Collier's mind, and his observation being limited he borrowed his dislike of justices from Hudibras, and from his father's sufferings gathered an enmity to clerical pluralists; to these as objects for castigation he added quack doctors, conjurors, and an old lady, a busy body, who dressed as a young person. The satires on justices, *The Blackbird* and *The Goose*, are puerile, and of the rest of the same class, including *The Adventures of the French Wig*, we have nothing to remark. *The Shude Hill Fight*, an imitation of Scriptural phraseology applied to the first of the Manchester corn riots (7th June 1757), is exceedingly dull.

The great source of profit to Collier was his etchings. The print of "The Pluralist" appears to have been the most popular. *The Human Passions Delineated* were first published in 1773, and again by Robert Collier in folio in 1809. Mr. Heywood of Deansgate, Manchester, having bought the original copperplates, had them retouched, and issued a new edition in 1858. A quarto edition with coloured plates appeared in 1810. "The more gross caricatures are omitted, and the plates are well executed. There is much refinement and softness imparted to the quaint and unnatural figures of "Tim Bobbin. The London publisher states that being a Lancashire man he always felt interested in the Lancashire Hogarth." (R.)

But Collier's best title to be remembered is in his work on the Lancashire Dialect. It is the spontaneous production of a person singularly gifted with humour, and the absence of any straining after effect makes the book what it is. It was produced when his youthful and exuberant spirits were in their strongest flow. He imagined he was introducing a new tongue to the public, and to illustrate it framed a dialogue, which was valued far more for its easy and natural wit than for its language. An estimation such as Psalmanazar for awhile obtained from the public Collier never enjoyed; but his *Tummus and Meary* are proceeding through a third

generation with unabated popularity. His efforts were all directed to qualify himself to be a faithful expositor of the South Lancashire dialect; for this he studied Saxon, and affected to speak only in his mother tongue—"opp'n speyker o'th' dialect." When at Newcastle he writes (*W.* p. 357): "I am obliged to be mum, for I cannot understand one half of what they say, I having forgot that my dialect may be as unintelligible to them." The importance in Collier's eyes of the words in *Tim Bobbin* in comparison with the dialogue is shown in a letter of May 1757 to his printer, Harrop of Manchester: "I have been busy all this week in writing out the whole of the Glossary, which I judged absolutely necessary, because I had six hundred and fifty new words (if I may so call 'em) that were to be inserted, which I thought it was impossible for you to fix in their proper places, so that I look upon this Glossary printed by itself worth more than the whole of any other edition. Query: Can you go on with printing this part whilst I am preparing the other? If so let me know, and I'll send it in a few days, for I think it will prove nearly half of the worth."

As regards the dialogue the Glossary is perhaps both redundant and defective, having some words not used and wanting several therein contained.²² We regret Collier never afterwards applied himself to completing this portion of the work, and in this neglect he falsified the expectation held out in the last paragraph of the preface of 1757: "If any of the author's countrymen will send any Lancashire words, phrases, or sentences, directed to J. Collier, Milnrow, Rochdale (post paid), they will be thankfully received; but hopes they will take care to distinguish between pure Lancashire and words corrupted from the English;" a whimsical and impossible

²² *Grewnt* (see pt. i. p. 24; *Prompt. Par.*), "groyne of a swine," and Mr. Way's note, "groon" (*Cr.*). *Groin* (*Brockett*); *gruntill*, *gruntle*, "the snout." Graun, *Isl.*, is used with great latitude for the chin, the beard, the nose, and even for the whole face (*Jn.*). *Groin de porceau*, the snout of a hog (*Cotgr.*). *Breeod*, *flote*, *crack*, *glums* and *gowries*, dark and fond shapes, *pash* to strike, *bo*, *boak* a ball, a dumpling, *pot baws*, bag puddings, associated with Lancashire in Sir William Stanley's recollections. *Deashon* a kneading tub. "Things in the brewhouse, 2 decions viii^d." (Thurstan Tyldesley's Inventory, *Lanc. Wills*, p. 113, 1 Mary).

distinction. A nice examination of the definitions would have led to useful emendations;²³ and as regard the South Lancashire dialect a larger vocabulary might readily have been collected, and that without doing any violence to the true limits of the speech. Notwithstanding this the Glossary as it is left us is done by one who knew what he was about, and of the great majority of words the true signification and hence the right origin is shown. The Glossary of 1746 contains six hundred and seventy-eight words; before 1750 five hundred words had been added; and in 1757 these were increased to two thousand and seventeen, a number hardly exceeded in the later editions, though a considerable addition to the dialogue was made, but room was found for the new words by weeding the old ones, and after all the changes since 1757 are not extensive.

The title-page of the first-edition is as follows: "A view of the "Lancashire Dialect, by way of dialogue, between Tummus o Wil-liams o Margits o Roaphs, and Meary o Dicks o Tummus o Peggys. "To which is added a Glossary of all the Lancashire words and "phrases therein used. By T. Bobbin, opp'n speyker o'th dialect.

Heaw arse wood wur I, eh this wark!

Glooar at monny a buk.

"Manchester: sold by R. Whitworth, Bookseller; and sold also by "Mr. Meadows, at the Angel in Cornhill, London; Mr. Higginson, "Warrington; Mr. Scolfield, Rochdale; Mr. Milner, Halifax; "— Wakefield; — Leeds; Mr. Wilkinson, Printer, Rip- "ponden; and Mr. William Taylor, Oldham." The date of 1746

²³ *Agog*, *areawt*, *bang* (iddn go bank?) *bate* and *beawt*, *cank* and *camp*, bracketted together; *cank* (Nor. Fr. *cancan*), loud talking, noise (*Davies*) — this word means to persevere, to overcome (Wilts.), and is an adjective, dumb in Yorkshire, gossiping in Derbyshire; *cangle*, to be in a state of altercation; *kiaenka* (*arridere*) (*Isl.*); *caing-nean* (*Gael.*) to argue, to plead (*Jn. Suppt.*); *gean-cyr*, a meeting; *gean*, opposite, against; *can*, *canne*, an averment; *cancet tende*, laughing, giggling (*A.S.*, *Bos.*); *breed*, frightened: *bandyhewit*, "a little bandy-legged dog, a turnspit" (*Wil.*) — this seems more correct than Collier's explanation; *bander* (*Fr.*), *bandare* (*low Lat.*), to make crooked; *hewit*, a corruption of *keout*, probably derived from *scout*; *keout*, a little barking cur dog (vid. *Wil.* in v. *keout*). *Hiw*, *hiwan*, a family, race, species, the persons of a family (*A.S.*), is the obvious derivation of *hewit*.

is commonly assigned to this edition, because in that year the book is noticed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xvi. pp. 527-8, and in the *British Magazine*, pp. 268-272, 437-439.

The Dialogue and the Glossary occupy the work, the former extending to thirty-two duodecimo pages. There are seven incidents in this first appearance of *Tim Bobbin*: 1. The calf killed by the horse. 2. The attempt to sell the dog. 3. The fall into the water. 4. The adventures at the Littleborough tavern. 5. The second offering the dog for sale. 6. The interview with the master. 7. The concealment in the barn and hay mow.

In the first the introduction and conclusion of the story were subsequently elongated; in the second the narrative is as it now stands, with the rumour that "hoo justices awlus did th' moast o'th' wark." It is remarkable that the excessive civility with which the offer of the dog for sale is met by those who have no intention of buying it, even to the assenting to the clown's lie that his cur was of a valuable and rare breed, should be found here. For it must be taken from Collier's own experience in the book- picture- and print-hawking life which he followed, but which in 1746 we should have imagined to be anticipated. "The Blackbird" and his Pictures were it seems already objects of traffic. That the humour of these civil refusals qualified in his mind the disappointment they conveyed is evident, and thus making them otherwise turn to gold was ingenious. He afterwards terms his copies of *Tim Bobbin* "Bandyhewits;" the name was first transferred to the pirated editions as not being of the true breed; the extension of the denomination to those which the author issued is not so intelligible. We may suppose the imagination of the double falsehood of the vendor, and of those he wished to be purchasers, in the case of the dog, greatly diverted Collier; he has it twice in the dialogue, and long bore it in mind in his letters.

The ducking in the brook and the wandering afterwards are told differently in the first edition to that of 1757. But the most entire variation is in the adventures at Littleborough. The Falcon Inn at this place, which is adjacent to Milnrow and situated at the foot of Blackstone Edge, was in Collier's later days kept by a boon com-

panion of his named Hill. This house was the constant resort of our chapman of his own wares, who here with hardly less authority than in his own village, assumed to direct the conviviality of horse and foot passengers, pack-horse men, and latterly of travellers by stage coaches, and amidst a boisterous merriment which he promoted, sold his works.

In 1746 the frightened lad has no place, and instead of at once bursting upon the rude frequenters of the tavern we have a description of two landladies, and the whole scene of violence between the "feaw seawr lookt felley" and "mezzil fease" is wanting. This last has the appearance of something that occurred in the presence of Collier. The remaining three parts of *Tim Bobbin*, although varying somewhat in the details, are in 1746 not essentially different from the dialogue as it at present stands. We have had no opportunity of seeing an edition between the first, 1746, and the sixth, 1757, and can only gather the history of the book during that period incidentally. Mr. Townley says: "The rapid sale of that second edition soon brought forth two or three pirated editions, which made the honest unsuspecting owner exclaim with great vehemence, 'that he did not believe there was one honest printer in Lancashire, and afterwards to lash some of the most culpable of those insidious offenders with his keen and sarcastic pen.'" The numbering of the editions we suspect confounded the authorized and the pirated publications, thus the fourth edition which the *Monthly Review* got hold of is one in which Collier is defrauded. The title, as set forth in the *Review*, vol. iv. p. 156, 1750 (and this article is referred to in a note in the authorized copies of *Tim Bobbin*), is curtailed, and we give it from Mr. Rondeau's manuscript. There is no date, but it must have been printed about 1750. "A View of the Lancashire Dialect, &c., to which is prefixed a Dialogue between the author and his pamphlet. By Tim Bobbin, Fellow of the Sisyphean Society of Dutch Loom weavers. The fourth edition, corrected and improved, with an addition of above five hundred Lancashire words not in the first impression. 18mo, pp. 32 (exclusive of glossary). Printed for J. Robinson, London, and W.

“Stuart, Wigan.” (The London edition, the fourth, is 12mo : printed for J. Robinson, price 6d.) Here we gather two things—that the *Cank* between the author and his book was printed in 1750, and that the piratical booksellers reprinted this record of their own knavishness. The prologue has two parts, firstly an attack on the booksellers mentioned, and secondly a bantering with the reviewers.

The attempt by satire and remonstrance to appropriate to himself the profit of his work on the dialect was maintained by Collier through a great part of his life. He inserts at the end of the edition of 1757 a notice that “the edition of this pamphlet printed “for Stuart of Preston [and Wigan?] and Robinson of the “Golden Lyon, London, and that of Schofield of Middlewich, the “two last lately published, are all spurious, rob the author, and im- “pose on the public.” He speaks in the earlier editions of “Stuart “and Finch, those Bell wethers, and Hitch, Haws on Williamson “o Lerpoo, ther sheepish followers.” These names are varied, and more than once the same bookseller occurs in two towns. Those who advertised the spurious copies are also denounced, as his first publisher Whitworth, so long known in the history of the Manchester press, and whom Tim Bobbin exchanged for Harrop, a still more enduring name in the printing annals of the same town. Adams of Chester, Williamson of Liverpool, then Eyre of Warrington, the greatest of our old South Lancashire printers, and others, are either privately or publicly reprobated for interfering with his copyrights.²⁴ Notwithstanding he appears to the last to have clung to his desultory method of guiding the sale of the book. A London publisher thus writes to him :

²⁴ Through long years this war with the piratical booksellers was waged, and in various ways : “I did berm up some rimes o top on sign pow, before Stuart’s shop e Wigin.” We have also the etching and lines on the “fratres in malo” in the *Human Passions Delineated*. These attacks by Collier were dreaded by some of his antagonists. There is a deprecatory letter (Manchester, 1st August, 1757) from Whitworth, whose offence only appears to be admitting an advertisement of the pirated books into his newspaper : “Indeed if I had known of either Finch or Schofield printing your “pamphlet, I should have dissuaded them from doing it. But I really believe Harrop “or any other printer, unless concerned in point of interest, would have done what I “did.”

“Mr. Collier: I write to you because I know ’tis not in your power to prevent the Dirty Dogs of your Neighbourhood from selling the pamphlet, but I think I could push and make some advantage of it if it was mine. Now I take it for granted that you have not one hundred left; if so, I will give you twenty pounds for the copyright, plates, &c., and will send you hereafter any number you may want at 9d. each. And am your obedt. servt.,

“THO^s LOWNDES.

“Fleet-street, London, October 2, 1773.

“I dont think that you would find a Manchester bookseller that would take 500, if at price of paper and print.”

The commencement of the *Cank* will have made the reader familiar with Tim Bobbin’s wrongs. They are set forth in the “pleagy rimes,” affixed on the book’s own suggestion, “oth neb o me cap, eh plene print hond, ot oytych body mey see um, chez where he cum.” Then there is Tim Bobbin’s surprise to find his own book by his side: “Whooas tat tee owd friend? I thowt teawd bin jaunting it like hey go mad, weh those foster feathers o’ thine, Stuart,” &c.

The second part of the *Cank* is occupied with the Reviewers. The reference by Tim Bobbin to the *Monthly Review* of December, 1750,²⁵ does not altogether explain the allusion he has made to their opinions, and though he gives no other authority we think his labours were elsewhere noticed. The dialogue is thus lauded. “This is a masterpiece of the kind. The stories in it are truly humorous, and exhibit the character of a clown in pure nature, such as a simple country fellow really is who is quite unacquainted with the world, of which he has seen no more than a very few miles round the cottage or farm he was bred in, and perhaps had never conversed familiarly with more than six persons, and those not a bit more intelligent than himself.” This is not a very discriminating criticism, for the contracted range of Tummus’s visible horizon did not prevent him from being both an unscrupulous and cunning fellow.

²⁵ There is another favourable mention of *Tim Bobbin* in the *Monthly Review*, 1776, vol. lv. p. 231.

On this Tim Bobbin remarks: "For the glooar'nt sooar at me, "turn't me reawnt like a tealier when e measers fok, chuckt me "under th'chin, ga me a honey butter cake." So far the laudatory commentators are duly recognized, but what follows must have some other origin than the passage quoted, "On sed op'nly, they near saigh "an awkert look, a queer chap, an a peckl't jump" (the marble paper binding), "gee better eh ther live." The *Cank* had evidently its composition at two periods. Tim Bobbin assigns the *Review* of 1750 as the cause of the second part; but that *Review* proves the pre-existence of a dialogue between the author and his pamphlet, which was probably occupied in defending the copyright.²⁶

The edition of 1757 was forced upon Collier from the thorough occupation of the ground by the pirated copies of his work.

Strawngers to aw reet,

They rob poor Timmy, een i'th oppen leet.

We have before us several letters on this subject, and especially from Harrop bearing on his fellow Manchester printer, and Collier's quondam publisher, Whitworth. This edition is important in the history of the book. The title is as follows: "A view of the Lancashire Dialect, by way of dialogue. Between Tummus" (&c. as in the first edition,) "shewing in that speech the comical adventure "and misfortunes of a Lancashire clown. To which is prefix'd (by "way of preface) a Dialogue between the author and his pamphlet, "with a few observations for the better pronunciation of the dialect. "With a Glossary of all the Lancashire Words and Phrases therein "used. By Tim Bobbin, Fellow of the Sisyphean Society of Dutch "Loom weavers, and an old adept of the dialect." (The motto of the first edition follows.) "The sixth edition, in which will be several "alterations and new adventures, and above eight hundred Lancashire words that never were in any of the five first impressions. "Manchester: printed and sold by Joseph Harrop; and by all the "Booksellers throughout England and Wales. 1757."²⁷ This is a

²⁶ In 1751 Collier sent fifty copies of his "Bandyhewits" (*Tim Bobbin*) to Worcester for sale, and this was during his service at Kebroyd (*W.* p. 267).

²⁷ This book is in Mr. Rondeau's collection.

duodecimo in "a pecklt jump." There is a rude etching of the speakers, with "Tim Bob. inv. et sculp.;" and yet we prefer it to the later print by the artist on the same subject. The "Observations" are more brief and unimportant than those prefixed by Watson to his Halifax Glossary, printed in Mr. Hunter's *Hallamshire Vocabulary*. They have the same object, but Collier could hardly have seen Watson's preface, which was printed in 1775. The connection of Collier with Halifax, and his repeated visits to the place, and the share its inhabitants occupy in his subscription lists, cannot be laid out of our consideration in weighing the purity of his exposition of the South Lancashire dialect. In 1767 with his works, we observe, he sends two *Histories of Halifax* at tenpence each, to be disposed of by Mr. Wilson, Lancaster. Did he write this *History*? The belief is he had received the copies of this book in exchange for his own works, and so sold them to pay himself. The anticipation of the deterioration of the dialect, and the invitation to supply the author with words, which in subsequent editions are omitted, close the "Observations." The *Cank* or prologue follows; it is complete in its two parts, as in the latest copies. The additions to the dialogue are numerous, the two most salient insertions being "the teying th' eawl" between 1 and 2, and the recasting the incidents at Littleborough, with the introduction of the tavern fracas. The assigning a third sweetheart to the clown in "Seroh," the master's daughter, is retained from the first edition. It may be wise to exaggerate the importance of the hero of a tale, but there is an improbability in the infatuation of a young person in this woman's position being so desperately in love with her father's servant as to assist in hiding him; then stealing food for his support, and lastly, "while I'r cadging my wem hoo tow'd me hoo lipp'nt "hur feather wur turn'd strackling." The little episode of the impeachment of the chastity of "Seroh o Rutchot's," his real love, for there are too distinct "Serohs," might have lighted up the narrative by its pathos; but Collier used no art in this book, and we must console ourselves by remembering that in his pictorial efforts, where he did attempt art, he proved he had not the *ars celare artem*, and sank into the burlesque.

The next important edition of *Tim Bobbin* is in 1763; it is published by Harrop of Manchester in 12mo and 18mo, and is denominated "Tim Bobbin's Toy Shop opened, or his whimsical "amusements, containing," (and the title mentions the Lancashire dialect without alluding to additions of any kind,) "the Blackbird, "the Goose, the Prickshaw Witch, the Queen of the Booth, with an "explanatory Letter, together with several other humorous Epistles, "Epitaphs, &c. in prose and rhyme. Also some original Lancashire, "Scotch, and other Letters never before published. Embellished with "copperplates, designed by the author and engraved by Mr. Barlow "of Bolton." The horse-stealing adventure we believe to be first inserted in this edition between 5 and 6, and thus the nine incidents of the dialogue were completed.

Collier felt towards justices as Bunyan did to juries, and could not deny himself the gratification of attacking them. In this case, however, the magistrate, Mr. Robert Entwisle sen. barrister, of Foxholes near Rochdale (ob. 1778 æt. 86), who could speak the dialect, does his duty; not so the clerk, Mr. Simon Dearden of the Orchard, who is misrepresented, he having been really an honest person. (*The Rochdale Pilot*, June 18 and September 10, 1857.)

The "Toy Shop" long figures in Collier's accounts as an edition of his works which he offered for sale. "1764. 7 Toy Shops, Mr. "Townson, curate of Mosley." "1767. Mr. Edwards, Halifax" (a name not unknown in the bibliographical world), "10 Toy Shops, 7 "plates, 15d., 12/6; 3 Lanc. dialects, single, 5d., 1/3; 6 plans of "the Calder, 4½d., 2/3, &c." [Is this one of Collier's books?] "Mr. "Wilson, Lancaster, 24 Toy Shops and 2 Histories of Halifax, 10d." In 1776, "Mr. Aspinall, Burnley, 12 Lord's Prayers at 2/ each, "very small." Here caligraphy is made to assist in the work of money getting. In the midst of these memoranda and accounts we find: "1770, Aug. 22. I weighed 167 lb., my wife weighed 201 lb." Throughout these editions we may observe that to 1757 Collier seems to have leant on the dialect as giving the value to his book. Between 1746 and 1757 he extended the dialogue, dealing carefully with the words used. "Just neww" is changed to "meet neww;,"

"before" to "ofore;" "One can boh doo whot te can do," with a nicer appreciation of the true force of can is rendered, "One can boh whot tey can doo;" "On went as greadly as could be i'th ward," is replaced by "On went ogreath," thus showing *graithly* to be the source of both words. He speaks of rain falling in "collock²⁸ fulls," and of putting his clean shirt on "o slifter i'th' barn (after i'd "slanst²⁹ on pood o'th ettercrops eawt on't) under the yeasing."³⁰ These are omitted in 1757, and *collock* and *slanst* never found their way into the Glossary. "For it chopt so dark aw ot wonst" is not repeated. "I'd nother bitt'n nor sup't" is corrected into "I'd noather bit nor sope." "He threw the Battril with such a ber" is left out, but the last word is transferred to express the gush of a bad smell; "that hodge podge coom eh meh fease weh sitch a ber."³¹ The distinction is perhaps maintainable; *byre* tempestas (*Icel*); *boer* (*Swe.*) the wind; also *byria*, *boeria*, surgere. "Choynge" in 1746 is "swop;"³² in 1757 a punch, a purr; thin, than, in, with one exception which is still in the book. Words are violently intro-

²⁸ *Collock*, a large piggin. (*Ray*; *Cr.*)

²⁹ *Slanst*, slain; slahan, schlagen (*Goth.*); slá, to slay; slán, sleán, to strike (*A.S.*); slaen (*Swe.*); schlau (*O.S.*) The word is common in Lazamon's *Brut*, slaen, slae, slan, to slay; aslaen, aslan, of slaen, and slaew, slew, to strike. We remember no later authority for its use, though its form betrays that it was not resuscitated by Collier, but really taken from the South Lancashire speech.

³⁰ *Yeasing* for *eaves* follows an ordinary change in our language in omitting the *v* or *f*, as in *lady*, laefdige; *head*, heafod, heafde; *ava* (*Sanserit*) *ab*, hinweg, herab, seems the most probable source of eaves (*Dief.* vol. ii. p. 729.) *Yeasing* is we believe proper to South Lancashire.

³¹ *Ber*, force (*beran*, to bear, to carry, to excel; so *bar*, a boar; *bera*, a bear; *bora*, a ruler; all having the attribute of force). *Beir*, *bere*, *bir*, *bire*, (1) noise, cry, roar; (2) force, impetuosity, often as denoting the violence of the wind. *Beir*, *birr* (*Jn.*; also *Dief.* vol. i. pp. 258, 260). "And lo, in a great byre al the drove went heedlyng in to the see." *Matt.* viii. (*Wic.*) "With all my beere" (*Chesh. Prov.*; *Ray*; also *Bam.*) "Run a berr," run to get an impetus.

³² *Swop* is derived by Tooke from the sweeping off by exchange, and this is adopted in Todd's *Johnson* and by Richardson. Dryden is the first person who gave it a brief literary existence in the sense of exchange, although probably an old colloquial word. The striking of hands in a bargain seems nearer the meaning (*swap* a blow) than Tooke's conjecture.

duced in order to be shown ; “a fine fattish gentleman” is made “a fine fattish throddy³³ gentleman,” and “a fattish felley” is “a fattish dowing³⁴ felley.” There is a passage in the fracas with the master (1746) which we regret is afterwards left out. “I seet owey when ‘eh heard th’ foyar pote rick, on went on hud³⁵ meh i’th barn.” The tup mutton tough as “whit leather thunk” (thong) only occurs in 1746. Between the first and sixth editions there is a considerable emendation of vowel sounds. Ate (out) is converted into eawt, awer (our) to eawer, dame to deme, seet to saight, why to whaw, great to greyt, neer to newer, ha to heaw, sponce to seoance, oney to onny. These are merely a few examples of Collier’s care of the dialect in the earlier editions.³⁶ In 1763 he trusted to etchings, and to the greater ponderosity of his book by the addition of his other writings.

³³ *Throddy* ; (see *T. J., Cr.*)

³⁴ *Dowing*, doing, healthful. Wil. derives dosome from dugan (*A. S.*) valere.

³⁵ The change of *i* into *u* is common, the verb hide is hud in Wilts. (*Akerman.*)

³⁶ Mr. Rondeau has collected the titles of twenty editions of *Tim Bobbin*, with dates, since 1786, and of seven, of which the publishers’ names justify the conjecture that they belong to the same period. The work takes so many shapes, and finds its way into our cottages and markets so incessantly, that this list by no means exhausts the catalogue of the quantity printed. There are here five editions since 1850. We observe the Rochdale edition of 1819 advertised for by an anxious purchaser, and a copy of this, valuable for the original letters it contains, sold for five pounds. The imitations have been few and unsuccessful. A political tract by Mr. Thomas Walker, calling himself Tim Bobbin the second, was printed in 1801, under the title of *Plebeian Politics*, and borne up by the interest of its subject matter, it reached two editions. The orthoepy is that of South Lancashire, but otherwise the archaic words are few, and the phraseology little differing from common English. In 1819, an author in Ashton-under-Lyne attempted to add second and third parts to *Tim Bobbin* (Manchester, Wilson). He apologises for varying in his spelling from *Tim Bobbin*, and eludes giving a glossary by referring to Collier’s. The book is extraordinarily coarse, the dialogue void of pleasantry, and the incidents improbable and disgusting. But there are peculiar to the work a number of words which are not common, and which lead us to regret the want of a glossary. We will enumerate a few : Bueth, dekeink un diltink, hoocant, frustling, peyling (in the sense of running), rebocant felley, o grete noger now un o felley, un th’ cloggin he had on wurn o burn, pomer, I clivver yammer to yeer, (I mount from grief to rage?) then clivver (completely), neckling, axt sum bits o’ querks, nubbley cosey, frabbeth, pawted, &c. &c. The vowel sounds, as the author admits, are not those of South Lancashire, and hardly of Hal-

The later copies of *Tim Bobbin* are taken from that of 1775, and the ten etchings it contained were by retouching long preserved. That the staple of the publication, the dialogue, was not subjected to the author's senile corrections is matter of congratulation; for even in his best days Collier has shown in his paintings how capable he was of deforming his own conceptions, and the recasting the natural expression of genius has never been successful. The *Family Shakespeare*, the *New Robinson Crusoe*, and the revised edition of *Pilgrim's Progress* are sorry trash.

From 1786 to the present day *Tim Bobbin* has maintained itself in the public estimation, and if the inferior works of its author are to be found side by side with it, the curiosity as to the writer is the best explanation of their vitality. We are far from thinking that our brief notice has exhausted either what ought to be known or may be gathered as to Collier and his essays, but we have made a first attempt to recover the history of both, and in so doing are especially following out the design for which the CHETHAM SOCIETY was instituted. For, truly, to leave unnoticed the most popular of our native writers would be an unjustifiable negligence, even though our researches dispel the illusion that wisdom and cleverness are necessarily allied, and that a well regulated mind is essential to the production of a good book.

It is only now left us to acknowledge the obligations which have accumulated upon us in writing the latter part of this essay. We are indebted to Mr. CANON RAINES for the larger share of the materials enabling us to treat of Collier's life. Some of these we have marked by the letter *R*, but the greater portion are not so to be recognized. The original letters and information with which we

lamshire; *eaw* is almost dispensed with, *nah* stands for neaw, *kah* for keaw, *ewt* for eawt, *hopen* for oppen, *clam* for clomb, &c.; and we demur to the meanings assigned to common words, as farrantly, blee, ber, boyurnt, &c.

Tim Bobbin's Ghost, by Mr. George Richardson (Heywood, Manchester, 1850), contains poems to Tim Bobbin's memory by Bamford and Shaw, and a long poem of fifty-two stanzas—"The Ghost of Tim Bobbin"—with some verses by Riddings and Rogerson. The whole are in the South Lancashire tongue.

have thus been supplied induced us to undertake writing this biography, and we have throughout felt it would have been better had it been left in the hands of one so much more capable of doing it justice, and so intimately acquainted with the subject as Mr. Canon Raines.

Mr. RONDEAU, of Salford, having made a collection of the editions of *Tim Bobbin*, with a catalogue of those he has seen, as well as those he possesses, and which though perhaps the fullest is by no means a perfect list, has kindly placed them at the service of the CHETHAM SOCIETY. They have been of the greatest use, and especially the transcript of the first edition (from the *Adlington Tracts*, Portico Library, Manchester). We have further to acknowledge the valuable assistance of our excellent President, JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq.; and of our Secretary, WILLIAM LANGTON, Esq.; and to thank JOHN HARLAND, Esq., for the loan of the *Tim Bobbin* of 1819, which goes under the name of Corry's or Westall's edition, and contains letters and other original information not otherwise procurable, and has become a book rare and much sought after.

ON THE SOUTH LANCASHIRE DIALECT.

ADDENDA TO PART I.

THE termination in *n* of the plurals of the indicative is regarded as a peculiarity of the South Lancashire dialect. "The shibboleth of "it," the West Mercian, "as a distinct dialect from the Northumbrian and North Anglian on the one hand, and the Southern and South Western on the other, is the indicative plural in *n*; "we, ye, they loven; still current in South Lancashire." (Garnett's *Essays*, pp. 63, 141.)

This peculiarity is essentially Teutonic, excepting that in modern German the second person of the present indicative plural is made in *et*—*lieben liebet lieben*. The Gothic first person indicative present plural ended in *am*, *um*, *eima*, from an earlier *ams*, *ums*, *emas*. The oldest Old High German retrenched "the *es*, *as*, "and ended as in Gothic with the simple *m*. This ceased in the "tenth century." The terminal *m* had often in the previous century gone over into *n*, and this was the case with other tenses and persons. "*N* settled every where" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 856) as an ending to the plural flexions of German verbs. In the Old North "the final *m* stands fast and never goes over to *n*" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 305); even in Anglo-Saxon "the auslaut *m* weakens "itself nowhere into *n*." (*Ib.* p. 243.) The change of *m* into *n* "was by a universal law of sound." (Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, pp. 437 *et seq.*; *D. G.* vol. i. pp. 119, 156, 159, 856, 932,

1045.) Grimm regards the adoption of *n* as a rendering coarse (*vergroberung*) the letter *m*.

The second person plural present indicative adopted *t* (or its substitutes *th*, *dh*, *d*) for a termination. We cannot here enter into the origin of the letters *m* and *t* being thus essential to particular persons of verbs. The pronominal endings by which conjugating was first achieved are set forth in Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*. In Old High German *t* is first preceded by *n*. "There are traces in the translation of *Tatian*" A.D. 840, "in *Otfried*" A.D. 876, "and more decidedly in Notker's *Psalms*" A.D. 1022, "of the formation of the second person plural present, as well as the 'third in *nt*.'" (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 857). In Mediæval German this practice became more general, especially in Switzerland and Suabia Proper the abrasion of the *t* succeeded in various dialects, and particularly in those near the Rhine. (*D. G.* vol. i. pp. 932-1045; also Garnett's *Essays*, p. 141).

The third person correctly formed in *nt* lopped off the final letter and ended in *n*, as in modern German. We have but faint traces in our island of *n* being the ending of the present indicative plural before the fourteenth century. Mr. Garnett found instances of its occurrence in semi-Saxon MSS. of the thirteenth century; and Sir F. Madden, from the Layamon MSS. A.D. 1200-1250, has a few examples. (*Gr. Analysis*, p. xlix.) But in Longland, Chaucer, Mandeville and Wycliffe the presents plural indicative very commonly terminate in *n*, and afterwards the flexion disappears and is not found we believe even in the *Paston Letters*, where according to Mr. Garnett's theory of its having been common to East Anglia and South Lancashire it should have been used.

Dr. Richardson in his excellent Dictionary says, "scream and "scream are made into reak and ream in Lancashire." "*Reak*, *reaw*, to squall, to make a shrieking noise; *rick*, to jingle, to scold; *shrikeing*, to squall or cry out; *skryke* o day." (*T. B.*) "*Skryem*, to scream." (*Bam.*) "*To reem*, to cry, (Lanc.) ab. *A.S.*; *hraeman*, *plorare*, *clamare*, *ejulare*, to weep, with crying

and bewailing; hream, *ejulatus*." (Ray: *North Country Words*). This term is now obsolete in South Lancashire, but Ray's authority for its once being used there is sufficient; besides it appears in the *Chester Plays*, (vol. ii. pp. 53, 74, Camd. Soc.) *Reaw*, to make a row, inserted in Collier's glossary as equivalent to *reeak* is inadmissible; it has a different meaning and is of easy derivation. Scream, shriek, reak is of Scandinavian origin; shriek, skrack (*Isl.*); sraek (*Swe.*); skrack (*Dan.*) a shriek. In the German tongues Mr. Bell gives skrike (*A. S.*; *Glossary to Chaucer*); schriek (*Holl.*); and Mr. Davies has kriecken (*Dut.*); but as this language only dates from the thirteenth century, and as we have the word at the same period —

Heo biginneth to shryke and scremeth anon :

Pol. Songs, E. I., p. 158, Camd. Soc. —

we cannot accept such a derivation.

How *scream* became *shriek* and *reak*, involve so many lingual principles of mutation that we can only briefly enumerate them, referring to those who have treated the subject more elaborately, and with greater authority.

S is an aspirate, *k* the tenuis of the gutturals; *sk* in passing from Scandinavian to German immediately, and almost universally, was described as *sch*. (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 174). In ancient languages *k* changed into *h*; thus the Greek χ is frequently *h* in Latin. *χειμων*, hiems; *χορτος*, hortus; *χυμαι*, humi, &c. We have in South Lancashire examples of this softening of *k*, *mey*, *tey*, (*ma'*, *ta'*, North Staffordshire, *Adam Bede*,¹) *make*, *take*; *ash*, *mischen*, *ask*, *mixen*. "Throughout the language the different pronunciation of *ch* and *ck* is not to be regarded. Thus what we pronounce "rich and riches (*tch*), the French pronounce *riche* and *riches* (*sh*), "and the Italians *ricco* and *ricchezza* (*k*)." (Tooke in v. *rich*.)

¹ Our dialect in a milder form is admirably set forth in this work so far as words and phrases are concerned, but the authoress has a less nice perception of the vocalic sounds, which are far from being lost between Uttoxeter and Leek, and flourish in the Potteries.

Although the softening of *sk* was early and extensively effected in German, the Northern tongues were not previously without some tendency in the same direction. Thus our *chin*, *kinn* (Old North) was pronounced *kjinn*, or, according to some authorities, *tshin* (*D. G.* vol. i. pp. 320, 321, 555). *Sch*, as an anlaut (commencement of words), in German, was equivalent to the French *ch* (*ib.* p. 71). Again, *ch* stood for a more powerful aspiration of *h*, and especially in the old Franconian and Frisian dialects so closely allied to Anglo-Saxon (Latham's *Gram.* vol. i. pp. 57 *et seq.* 95; *D. G.* vol. i. pp. 177, 179, 184, 188, 198); *Childebert* Hildebert, *Chramnus* Rhamnus. The gutturals interchanged, and *k* was represented both by *g* and *h*; thus we find *skrike* translated :

The greking of the day.

Doug. Verg. 202, p. 10.

In the gryking af the day.

Thomas and the Fairy Queen, Fairy Myth.,
p. 58, Camd. Soc.

Scrie is the thrush (shreight), and *hroc* the rook, (graculus, raucus), the same word to describe two very different notes, to *hreak* for scream. About the ninth century, *hr* gave place in Anglo-Saxon to *r* (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 195). We have in South Lancashire several words formerly made in *hr*, the favourite Anglo-Saxon guttural and hirrient. *Rack*, hraca; *rack o'th'ee*, hræcan; *reawp*, hræcan, or hrepan, hreop; *rhute* (passion *Bam.*) hruth; *reeaw*, hreoh; *rook a heap*, hreac; besides *roose*, to praise, from the Old North *hros*, encomium, laus. Although the changing *sk* into *sch* and *ch* had long been common in Germany, Grimm, probably depending on written authority (*D. G.* vol. i. p. 262), assigns this mutation in England to the Norman period. With us, therefore, shriek may have taken its anlaut from the French, answering to *ch* in chapitre, changer, &c.

Scream never submitted itself to this softening. This word may have proceeded by metonymy, from *skrame* (*Goth.*) a dart; *skrama*, leviter vulnerare, plaga, cicatrix, (*Swed.*); *skramme* (*Dan.*) The Anglo-Saxon verb *hreman*, to shout, to cry, to weep out, is however generally given as the derivative of scream :

Hream weard on heorate. *Beow.* 2604.

and in the latest Anglo-Saxon,

Scottan huuen up muchelne raem.
and thisne wunderliche raem.

Layamon, vol. ii. pp. 46, 75.

In these examples *ream* is simply a cry, a shout, and one of the names of the raven (*ravine*, Old English *hraefn* ; Anglo-Saxon *reaf*, a robber,) being hrem, hremn, from its croak, we perceive the variety of sound the word was adapted to convey. This applies both to shriek and scream, which are synonymous in some of our dictionaries, and with unsatisfactory definitions in all. They appear to have been applicable to every kind of noise. *Chirp* (*Chirk*, *Chau.*, see *Rich.*) by a most common metathesis, is shrick, and is usually derived from *cearcian* (Anglo-Saxon) to chatter, creak, quash, crash. (*Bos.*)

The Germans thus translate these words: "*To scream*, laut und "plotzlich aufschreyen, kreischen, drohnen ; *to scream*, quicken, aufschreyen, kreischen, pfeifen, schwirren, knarren." Kreischen vor Freude, vor Jammer, vor Schrecken, *to give utterance to joy, grief, or fear*. In South Lancashire the meanings of *reak* are extensive. "I seede summot, on seete up a grayt reek" of surprise or fear ; then in the same book *rick* is made to signify the jingle of hand-cuffs: "Put up thoose things ot ricke so." (*T. B.*) Formerly, *rick* stood for the watchman's rattle, conveying its use by a verb, to rick. In one sense we have found this word used out of South Lancashire. A pig, in Herefordshire, is said to *reek* for its food ; and here Mr. Davies's Welch origin may be accepted *hrock*, a grunt.

The phrase "skryke of day" is common to South Lancashire, Scotland, Craven, Hallamshire, and is the same with the Old English "at day pype," peep of day. "There is a profound intimacy between our ideas of light and sound, of colour and music ; and hence we are able to comprehend that rustling, and that noise, which is ascribed to the rising and setting sun. Thomas Kingo, a Danish poet of the seventeenth century, and probably others of his

“countrymen, make the rising sun to pipe (pfeifen), that is, to utter “a piercing sound.” (*Deut. Mythol.* p. 428). Tacitus had long before recorded the Swedish superstition, that the rising sun made an audible noise (*De Mor. Ger.* s. xlv.) The form in which our skryke of day has come down to us is Scandinavian.

Grimm further says (*Deut. Mythol.* p. 430): “Still more express “are the passages which connect the break of day, and blush of the “morning, with ideas of commotion and rustling.” He confirms this by quotations from old French and Spanish writers; but we think it is not clear that the myth was ever German. The only reference on this point is to *Albrechts Titurel*, a book by one of the Minnesingers, A.D. 1312, which is a translation from the French. (*Jordensdichter Lexicon*, art. Minnesinger). Goethe has indeed, in the Prolog im Himmel to *Faust*, borrowed from the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrine of the harmony of the spheres, and illustrated Grimm’s proposition of the union of our ideas of light and sound, by describing the course of the sun in its effulgence as a march of thunder. Jonson, with a like dependence on the ancients, regarded noise as an essential quality of the heavenly bodies.

Come with our voices let us war
And challenge all the spheres,
Till each of us be made a star
And all the world turned ears. — *Underwoods*.

Crepusculum is allied to crepitare, and anbruch des tages, *day-break*, gathered from the fracture of metal, and applied to the severance of darkness and light, may well have sound attributed to it.

The old meaning of “peep (or pipe) of day” was the joyous cry incident to the birth of light. *Peep* as *sound* is most ancient. There is *πιπιπιζειν*, to cry like a young bird, from *πιπιπος*, a young bird; so *pipio*, verb and noun in Latin, “a nest of peepers” (of young birds), now obsolete English, and yet closely allied to the speech of Athens and of Rome.¹

¹ Richardson gives the superior antiquity to *peep* to utter a sound; *peep*, to

If, sharing Dr. Jamieson's doubts, it is held that "skryke of day" may not be the awakening morning, but *Aurora rutilans*, there is no verbal hindrance to its derivation from *regna rauk* (Old North), the twilight of the Gods, *fumus immanis* (Kemble's *Beowulf*); *rok*, *rokr*, caligo, crepusculum, *rokva*, dammern, (Old North). *Regna rockr*, die Gotter dammerung, (*Dief.* vol. ii. pp. 155, 173; *D. G.* vol. ii. p. 270). But we think the more obvious derivation is the correct one.

To the note (p. 16) on "fere cheeotin" (*T. B.*) we would add a reference to *Fairra* (Goth.); *procul*, *ποπρω*, far (far advanced in?); *fer* (O. H. G.); *feor* (A. S.); also to Grimm's notice of prepositions having French for their root; *faura* (Goth.), *vor* (Ger.); *fair* (Goth.), *ver* (Ger.); *fairra*, *ἀπό*, *ab*, from, by, or on account of, (*D. G.* vol. iii. pp. 100, 119, 256).

In p. 8 it is stated that the glossary to *Tim Bobbin* was not Collier's writing. We were led into this error by the want of concordance

look closely, or curiously, he deems transferred "from the sound chickens make upon "breaking the shell to the look accompanying it." Minsheu suggests *espie*; and in South Lancashire we have "to pee, to squint queerly" (*T. B.*), "to look with one "eye" (*T. J., Ray, W. & C., Wt., Halli.*). *Pyppynge*, *pypyn* (*Prompt. Par.*), where "peep" to look is not. Mr. Way in his note gives "at day pype" à la pipe du jour. (*John Palsgrave*, A.D. 1530). Richardson has, however, an example of *peep* in the other sense from Bishop Gardiner, 1536. "Pépier, to cheep or pule as a young bird "in the neast" (*Cotgrave*). Mr. Wright in his Dictionary has one of the latest examples of its use:

I say cut his weazand, spoil his peeping.

Villiers: *The Chances*, 1692.

Robert Lowth quoted *peep* somewhat later, but only to point out its signification as ventriloquism. (*Isaiah* viii. 19). The Platonic theory of the harmony of the spheres is discussed in the commentaries on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*; on Dante *Paradiso*, canto i. line 76; on Chaucer's *Assembly of Foules*; and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, book v. line 260. The setting sun making a noise from its heated chariot axles being quenched in the Atlantic is dealt with by the critics on *Juvenal*, sat. xiv. line 280; also on *Comus*. The moon pfeift sein licht auf. (*Deut. Mythol.* p. 428). Then there is the burst of the son of Aurora. Jamieson is very suggestive in treating of "screak of day," which he hesitates in admitting to relate to sounds. Once at creation the morning stars sang for joy (*Job* xxxviii. 7); but afterwards moved in expressive silence (*Psalms* xix.).

between the use of the words in the dialogue, and their subsequent definitions. The documents we have since examined prove Collier wrote the two works separately. This accounts for the glossary being both redundant and defective as regards *Tim Bobbin*. With all its shortcomings, this glossary remains a valuable exposition of the South Lancashire dialect.

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Rentale de Cokersand :

BEING

THE BURSAR'S RENT ROLL OF THE ABBEY OF COKERSAND,
IN THE COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER,
FOR THE YEAR 1501.

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL.

EDITED BY

THE REV. F. R. RAINES, M.A., F.S.A.

"Has ædes sacras pietas construxit avorum
Quas successores vastabunt more luporum."

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXI.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.



OKERSAND Abbey in the parish of Lancaster was situated about five miles south of the town, on a lingula of stagnant marsh land between the estuaries of the rivers Lune and Coker, and near the place where these united waters fall into the Irish Sea, from whose roaring billows the monks stated in 1379 (2 Ric. II.) in their petition to the Crown for a confirmation of their charters, that they were daily exposed to the perils of drowning,¹ although, unlike the monks of Stanlow, they scorned the thought of abandoning their inconvenient and joyless solitude.² There was some ground for this touching appeal to the clemency of the King, as in the present day, in tempestuous weather, the mouldering bones of the dead, and the few scattered ruins of the sacred pile, are sometimes washed by the sea, and at other times a vast and desolate expanse of sands stretches before it; these sands of the estuary of the Coker giving the Abbey its name. Upon this not very attractive

¹ *Rot. Parl.* vol. iii. p. 52, Baines. On the 7th April, 7 and 8 Ric. II. the king on an *inspeximus* confirmed to the abbot and convent and their successors the lands which had been given by Theobald Walter, William de Lancaster, John de Lacy Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Chester, Geoffrey his son, Henry de Seston clerk, and others, tested by W. Archbishop of Canterbury, R. London, W. Winton, &c.—Dugdale, vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 907, ed. 1830.

² Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 61, 3rd ed.

scene Leland, Henry the Eighth's Chaplain and Librarian, had gazed with no loving eyes on the eve of the dissolution of the house; but he accurately described it as "standing veri blekely and object to all wynddes;"¹ and he might have darkened his gloomy and ungenial picture by adding, and to all waves, as it was surrounded by water on the north, south and west. If the site of their house had not been selected with a nice perception of the beauties of nature, the monks would not find their abode altogether devoid of natural attractions, whilst "distance lent enchantment to the view." Their eastern elevation would present a wide and charming region of hill and vale, and when the darkening fogs and dreary exhalations permitted, they would look out to the north upon the elevated site of Lancaster, with its stately Castle and fine Church, rising majestically above the town, whilst Cockerham nestled in the fertile vale, gently sloping beneath their Abbey, and its old grey Church, belonging to the house of St. Mary of Leicester, would always be visible, but always an object of jealousy.² To the south-east their manors of Garstang and Woodacre, and in later times Greenhalgh Castle, were stretched out in distant perspective, whilst in the front of the Monastery was the noble Vale of Wyre, rich in wood and meadows, pastures and corn fields.³ In the background, still fronting the eastern aspect of the house, was a bold and lofty amphitheatre of mountains, separating the counties of Lancaster and York, and known as the Fells of Wyersdale and Littleddale, skirted at their bases by the old Royal Forest of Bleasdale, with its dark but luxuriant foliage, whilst the towering crest of Parlock Pike rising

¹ *Itin.* vol. v. fo. 84, p. 82, 12mo, 1711.

² Whitaker's *Richmonds.* vol. ii. p. 330.

³ Leland's *Itin.* vol. 5, fol. 84, p. 82.

abruptly in the south-west angle, terminated the romantic and picturesque features of their landscape prospect.¹ There were times and seasons, when the winds and waves were still, that far out in the north-west beyond "the Silver Lune," their own joint salmon fishery, might be descried St. Patrick's Chapel at Lower Heysham, and Piel Castle on an islet in Morecambe Bay; whilst their little Manor, Chapel and Grange of Pilling to the south, if intercepted from their view by the sands of Coker, were easily accessible by water; and at a short distance was the opulent domain of Rawcliffe, where the canons had not only possessions,² but always zealous supporters in the Butlers, a family closely connected with their earliest founders and latest benefactors.³

¹ I am sorry to differ in my estimate of the natural scenery in the foreground of the Abbey from so competent though fastidious a judge as Dr. Whitaker, who "non captus dulcedine loci," regarded the noble prospect as neither picturesque nor Arcadian: — "Nor does the situation of the Abbey offer more ample or interesting matter for description than the ruins. In calmer moments it looks only on a long range of flat and dreary moss, and on the sands, whence its name is derived. Whatever, therefore, be the distant beauties of the scene (and it has not wanted its admirers), the precincts of the Abbey can only be described as dull and cheerless; suited, perhaps, to the habits and inclinations of a solitary hermit, but hardly consistent with the ordinary comforts even of monastic seclusion." — Whitaker's *Richmonds*. vol. ii. p. 335.

² See *Roll*, p. 14.

³ At a sale at Rawcliffe Hall in July 1861, there was considerable competition for a fine old oak chest, exquisitely carved, apparently of about the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which was once the muniment or plate chest of St. Mary's Abbey, Cokersand. It was knocked down for 52*l.* to Mr. Sawyer, broker, of Blackburn, who was commissioned to purchase it for Captain Whitle of Whalley Abbey. This chest was removed to Mr. Butler's, of Rawcliffe, at the time when the house was in trouble in the reign of Henry VIII., and was said to be filled with plate; and many traditions respecting it have long been current in the neighbourhood. See *Preston Chronicle*, July 1861. The chest is now at Thurnham Hall, having been lately purchased for 75*l.* by Sir James G. Fitzgerald Bart.

The monks, however, surrounded by inclement elements, and close upon a stormy coast, considered their quiet abode dreary and sterile, although for nearly four hundred years here they served God, and probably according to their means, intelligently promoted the welfare of man, neither arid sands nor keen winds, neither boisterous waves nor the sea fowl's wild and discordant cry restraining them in the duties of their mission, although at no time reluctant to grasp the endowments of the parochial clergy, and always eager to obtain exemption from episcopal jurisdiction and inspection, which prevented the correction of abuses, and the absence of which proved, in the end, fatal to the entire system.¹

In the time of Henry II. this house,² then in its infancy, was a solitary hermitage or cell, the abode of Hugh Garthe, "an eremyte of great perfecçõn,"³ and in all its leading features similar to that of St. Guthlac, the first English Anchorite, at Croyland.⁴ Afterwards it became an hospital for infirm persons and lepers, governed

¹ Blunt's *Sketch of the Reformation*, p. 62.

² Whitaker says it was founded by William de Lancaster, second Baron of Kendal, who died before the year 1189. — *Richmonds*. vol. ii. p. 328. Leland says the same, *Itin.* vol. v. p. 82. Tanner, without recognizing him as the founder, observes that "it was chiefly endowed by him." — *Notitia Mon.* p. 232. It was one of the sixteen Premonstratensian Monasteries founded in England in the reign of Henry II. — *Ibid.* Introd. p. viii. fol. 1744.

³ Whitaker identifies Hugh the Hermit with H. Prior of the Hospital. who was also the first Abbot. — *Richm.* vol. ii. p. 331.

⁴ St. Guthlac's Cell at Croyland, founded in the eighth century, was situate in the midst of a fenny boggy level, in winter time impassable by the overflowing of the waters coming from the high countries, and not having a passage into the sea, whose coast is raised higher every year by the banks of sand continually cast up. . . . Guthlac, chaplain to the King, retired to the dismal solitude of these fenny regions. — Stukeley's *Account of Croyland Abbey*, ed. by Gresley, pp. 2, 3, 4to, 1856. The hermits of Croyland and Cokersand appear to have been kindred spirits in taste and sentiment, as well as in religious feeling.

by a master and two brethren. It was then for a short time an Augustinian Priory, in some way connected with the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis of Leicester,¹ and ultimately, by the bounty of Theobald Walter alias Butler, a munificent churchman and brother of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, it was converted, in the year 1190, into an Abbey of Premonstratensian Canons,² dedicated to St. Mary. This change was confirmed by Richard the First, and ratified on the 8th ides of June 1190, by a Bull of Pope Clement III.³ This house, like all sublunary things, had its vicissitudes and revolutions, and was not destined to be permanent.

In the sixteenth century the storm which had long been threatening burst upon the monasteries. The smaller houses, which were unable to expend 200*l.* a year, chiefly belonged to the Mendicant Friars, who were the Pope's army in England, and hostile to the proceedings of Henry VIII. Their dissolution was determined by parliament, and effected by the statute 27 Henry VIII. c. 28, on the avowed principle, only recognized by that King's counsellors, that small communities were more depraved than

¹ Tanner states that Cokersand was subordinate to St. Mary de Pratis of Leicester, which Whitaker disputes, as the *Coucher Book of Cokersand* affords not the slightest ground for any such spiritual claim on the part of the monks of Leicester. It is clear that some of their early patrons were the same, and some of their lands in Lancashire contiguous, which led to mutual bickerings, concessions, and exchanges of privileges.

² The order of *Pre Montre*, so called because it was said the place was premonstrated or foreshown by the B. V. Mary A.D. 1120 to St. Norbert, afterwards Archbishop of Magdeburg, and the founder of this order, at Laon in Picardy, where he was required to build his monastery.

³ Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.* vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 906. The foundation was again confirmed by King John in the year 1215, and to secure the privilege of electing their own Abbot, without "being trobled by the gentilmen of the contrey theyre neyborns at the tyme of the elecc'on," the canons bound their house to pay the King and his successors xx*s* on every election. — *Harl. MS.* 1499, written A.D. 1530, and quoted by Whitaker.

large ones, and that it was more difficult to reform a few than many offenders;¹ a bold statement indeed, but so very fallacious and absurd that it almost seems to have been intended for mild wit or pleasant drollery, or it may be that the legislators concealed their contempt for the obtuse understanding of the ecclesiastics in grave irony.

Cokersand was one of the 376 of the lesser houses² which Parliament, by an act now generally considered to be akin to sacrilege, gave to the King, and although to conciliate the mitred Abbots who sat in the Upper House the Sovereign committed the inmates therein to what he was pleased to designate "the great and honourable Monasteries of Religion, where they might be compelled to live religiously for the reformation of their lives,"³ yet in the following year these houses also were swept away "for their unthrifty, carnal and abominable living." They had, it is true, a few months before been described by the King and his Parliament as "divers and great solemn Monasteries of this Realm wherein, thanks be to God, Religion is right well kept and observed, although destitute of such numbers of religious persons as they ought and may keep;"⁴ but it is no part of my business to reconcile the casuistry, conduct, and consciences of the rulers of that generation. In point of territorial possessions and general revenues Whalley and Furness took the precedence of the Lancashire Monasteries, and Cokersand came the third. It had many pious and devoted but not very munificent benefactors at various

¹ Act 27 Henry VIII. c. 28.

² Dr. Burton says 380 religious houses were dissolved.—*Monast. Ebor. and Eccles. Hist. of York* p. 65, 1758. Burn confirms the statement.—*Eccles. Law*, vol. ii. p. 65.

³ Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* book vi. p. 311; Burn, vol. ii. p. 64.

⁴ Stat. 27 Henry VIII. c. 28.

periods, as its revenues at the dissolution, owing to the leases being granted upon small rents and easy fines, amounted, according to Speed to 228*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, and according to Dugdale to no more than 157*l.* 14*s.* per annum.

Not being the auditor of their revenues I am unable to reconcile the statements of Speed and Dugdale with the Rental now printed;¹ but some difference in the extended income might be expected in the course of half a century. The sum total rendered by Skypton²

¹ Dugdale gives the clear, and Speed the gross, income of the house.

² Of James Skypton the Bursar little has been preserved. He had probably not relinquished his original surname, and might be a relative of Dom. Ralph Skypton, who on the 10th June 1457, was Rector of Middleham and Chaplain to the most noble Richard Earl of Salisbury, in his chapel within the castle of Middleham. — *Reg. Richmond. MS.* p. 33. As a Canon of Cokersand his order was partly monastical and partly canonical, the rule of St. Augustine being chiefly followed. He wore the white cassock and the long white linsey-woolsey cloak of his order, which the Abbots had agreed never to abandon even if raised to the Cardinalate or Popedom (*Hist. Monast. Orders*, p. 131), so little were they charmed by the mysteries of monastic haberdashery or papal ceremonial. He was methodical, and of business habits, if not a very exact accountant. Like similar officials he would have a salary, a servant, and a couple of horses (Raine's *North Durham*, pp. 90-91, fol. 1852), to enable him to visit the Granges, receive the rents, lease the lands, and regulate the temporal affairs of the monastery. His useful services during the abbacy of Mag. Robert Egremond, who had presided over the house for the long period of fifty-seven years, led to his election as Abbot on the 20th December 1502, and, with the other Abbots of his house, he refused to officiate, like the Benedictine Abbots, in pontificalibus, with the mitre, crosier and ring, as being marks of worldly pride. He was probably at this time a man advanced in years, and had been the *locum tenens* under the old and probably superannuated Abbot, as he was succeeded in his high office by Henry Stayning 7th October 1505. Skypton's name occurs amongst the Abbots in the last edition of Dugdale's *Monast.* vol. vi. p. 906, although it is not included in Whitaker's catalogue. The minute and copious Rental here printed is written by him in a bold distinct hand, upon a roll of vellum, about ten feet in length and eight inches in width. It is neatly joined in two or three places, and the writing is contained on both sides of the roll. It is indorsed by Sir William Dugdale "Rentale de Cokersand," and seems to have been obtained from him by his friend

the Bursar in 1501 was 210*l.* 1*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, being the annual account presented to the chapter of the receipt of land rents and fee farms; but there was no computation of the value of oblations, Easter rolls and heriots; of mortuaries, boons and services; of such lands as were in the occupation of the house; of tithes and fees from their rectories; and of whole flocks of poultry which were due to the Abbey under leases and covenants, and the farms were doubtless quite as beneficial to the tenants as to the landlords.

The inexactness of the Bursar has been already noticed,¹ and here as in all the Monastic Computuses and Rent Rolls I have seen, errors are found which are inexplicable. The receipts are stated to be 198*l.* 18*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*,² which, with the subsequent rents to the end of p. 30, not added together by the Bursar, make the gross total of the Rental 216*l.* 17*s.* 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*;³ but if the first addition of the items amounts to 192*l.* 2*s.* 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, which seems to be the fact, the rents received would be no more than 210*l.* 1*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*⁴ Whitaker makes the gross income amount to 222*l.* 12*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, the tenants in all 487, and their rendering in kind, 204 capons and 442 hens; but he had probably been misled by the Bursar's statement on p. 18, which, instead of being 12*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*, ought to be 12*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* This

Theophilus Howarth of Howarth in the parish of Rochdale Esq., M.D., and was found amongst the papers of his grandson the Rev. Radclyffe Howarth, LL.D., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford (founder's kin), who died unmarried in 1768. I have added the roll to the MS. treasures in the Chetham Library. Dr. Whitaker had either seen this Rental or a transcript of it in the *Coucher Book* at Thurnham, as he gives a brief analysis of its contents in the *Hist. Richmonds.* vol. ii. p. 335.

¹ p. 3, note 2.

² p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ In order to ascertain what the actual money rental of the estates belonging to the Abbey would have been at the present time, independent of agricultural improvements, we must triple 210, on account of the diminution of the standard of money, which will amount to 630; and this multiplied according to Whitaker's rule by 8 or thereabouts, the result will be 5,040*l.* of our money.

rental, however, did not include the whole of the possessions of Cokersand, as the Manor of Bayley in Lancashire and the Rectory of Mitton in Yorkshire are not returned.¹

Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who will not be accused of religious partiality, states,² with unflattering pen, that divers of the Commissioners who had visited the Monasteries by special authority from the King, who now regarded himself as "the supreme Ordinary," petitioned the Sovereign that some of the houses, both for the virtue of the persons and the benefit of the country (the poor receiving thence great relief, and the richer sort good education), might be spared. Nor was the prayer altogether disregarded. The act of dissolution of this house and of Cartmel was reversed by a singular instance of forbearance on the part of the King,³ and once again "all the Phoenix spirit burnt within." These two Lancashire Monasteries had, however, been galvanized into a fitful existence, and the time of their revival was brief, as they fell in the general destruction of the larger houses in the year 1540.

The good and evil of Monastic institutions perhaps concerns us remotely, if at all; but it is obvious that the sudden cessation of such an establishment in a recluse neighbourhood, almost dependant upon it for the extension of religion and the promotion of civilization, must have been felt by the little community itself as an unmixed evil, and by many others as a loss to be deplored;

¹ See Whitaker's *Hist. of Craven*, pp. 21-23.

² *Hist. of the Life and Reign of Henry VIII.* by Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, 4to, 1649.

³ Whitaker says that Cokersand fell unjustly, being able to expend more than 200*l.* a year; a second valuation of its possessions showing it to have an income amounting to 282*l.* 7*s.* 7½*d.* It was therefore restored unharmed by letters patent dated December 11, 28 Henry VIII., the King appointing Robert Pulton, a Præmonstratsian Monk, the Abbot. — *Hist. Richm.*, vol. ii. p. 334.

and the loss was only tolerated by the nation on the ground that the property was to be held sacred by the King, and to be better appropriated for Church purposes.

The Abbot, by his position and the privileges which belonged to it, had for centuries possessed considerable secular influence, notwithstanding his sequestered mode of life, in all parts of Lancashire, as well as in some of the adjoining counties, and frequently received writs of summons to Parliament. He held his Courts in various Manors, and had the patronage of several Advowsons. Some entire townships belonged to him, and he had free warren over an almost unlimited district.

If we regard him, and we are justified in doing so, not as a celibate of irregular habits, but as a Priest past the meridian of life, one of the best educated men of the times, and professing to observe a severe rule of piety; presiding over and directing a secluded religious fraternity; himself hospitable and decorous, his house avowedly the receptacle of men devoted to letters, the fine arts, and the liberal sciences; educating the youth of the favoured as well as of the humbler classes of the neighbourhood; fostering helpless age, and entertaining wayfaring strangers; cultivating and improving the wide demesne lands of the Abbey by the employment of numerous husbandmen, labourers and shepherds, which may reasonably account for the large number of servants at the dissolution;¹ such a man and such a community could hardly fail to be regarded, by these practical tests of usefulness, notwithstanding their credulity, superstition and fanaticism, as promoting

¹ The *Coucher Book* in 1530, according to Whitaker, gives the names of 350 dependants, who are styled "nativi;" but their servitude would hardly be that of bondmen, or serfs. Such were styled "slaves" in 1568, and were regardant of the manor and bound to the lord. — See *Stanley Papers*, part ii. p. 94, note 4.

not only their own well-being and that of the neighbourhood, but also advancing the general interests of the country, and feeling assured themselves that they possessed and merited those legal protections with which the legislature had thought fit to surround the weaknesses of individuals.

The income of the house was not large, nor were the inmates numerous, the Abbey containing in 1536 only twenty-two religious and fifty-seven servants.¹

It does not appear that the inexorable visitors discovered laxity of discipline or excesses of any sort, nor had they a single specific charge to allege against the recluses of Cokersand, except their passive resistance to the insidious designs of the King, and perhaps the decay of self-denial indicated by a debt of 108*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*² owing by the fraternity, who had clearly not grown weary of their rule, as was said to be the case in some of the Monasteries a little before the Reformation. They probably regarded but did not describe the inmates as Robespierre, a kindred spirit, was wont to describe the Parisian populace, as a “*pauvre et vertueux peuple* ;” but it will not be forgotten that the visitors were courtiers.

It need scarcely be added that the specious pretexts which led to the general subversion of the Monasteries, the secularization of their endowments, and the sudden disruption of old ties and associations, providentially opened the way for the blessing of a Reformed Creed, an improved system of education, a better code of morals, and, it may safely be added, for the universal diffusion of every real advantage which these exclusive houses possessed, although nothing was less thought of by the political vampires of that day.³

¹ *Harl. MS.* cod. 694, fol. 91.

² *Ibid.* ; Baines, vol. i. p. 471.

³ The following records of the Abbey are known to exist: — *Collectanea varia ex*

Amongst the old gentry of Coat Armour who were free tenants of the Abbey, and allied to it by this and other interlacements, in the HUNDRED OF SALFORD, we find Sir Edmund Trafford of Trafford,¹ Sir John Booth of Barton,² and Sir Richard Assheton of Middleton, Knts.,³ Crompton of Crompton⁴ in the parish of Prestwich, Longworth of Longworth⁵ in the parish of Bolton-le-Moors, and Hulton of Hulton⁶ in the parish of Dean; whilst the ten co-heiresses of Sir James Harrington⁷ of Blackrod, the untimely death of whose only son on his wedding-day, whilst crossing the Irwell

Registro de Cokersand in Bib. Harl. 96, c. 3. Registrum de Cokersand MS. vel penes Rob. Dalton de Thurnham in Com. Lanc. Arm. vel in Bibl. Hatton. Collect. MSS. cl. Rogeri Dodsworth in Bibl. Bodl. Oxon. vol. cxviii. fol. 41, vol. cxiv. fol. 41, 96, et vol. cxix. fol. 122. Bibl. Harl. MS. 1499, fol. 69, touching the foundation and erection of this Monastery. MS. 2063, p. 178. Collectanea ex Cartulario ejusdem. MS. 6461 fol. 10. Hundreds and Villages out of which lands were given to it. MS. Cole vol. xviii. p. 215. MS. Peck in Museo Britan. vol. i. Epistolam unam et alteram visitatoris Ordinis Præmonstr. de Abbati ab officio deposito. Pat. viii. E. 2 pro ecclesia de Mitton appropriando. Manor of Bailey 4 Edward III. 3rd part of the Manor of Middleton in Lonsdale 15 Edward III. Ibid. pro marc 40 pro eccles. de Mitton approprianda. Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, ordained a vicarage in the Church of Mitton appropriated to this Monastery A.D. 1301. In the King's Remembrancer Office is a decree Mich. 31 Car. 2. that the Abbey lands of Cokersand are titheable in the hands of the owner. There is a paper survey of Cokersand temp. Henry VIII. in the Augmentation Office, and it is believed that there is a Register Book of this Abbey in the possession of John Gage Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. Dugdale's Mon. vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 906, fol. 1830, note. The last-named book is now said to be in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill Bart. Dr. Whitaker has interesting notices of the Abbey from the Coucher Book compiled by Robert de Lacheford, the early historian of the house, dated on the feast of St. Michael A.D. 1268, and all the later accretions of its possessions being added by successive scribes down to the dissolution. This register was formerly at Thurnham Hall, but its destination at present seems to be unknown. Tanner also refers to it. — *Notitia*, p. 232; Dugdale's *Notitia*, vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 906; Whitaker's *Richmonds*. vol. ii. p. 328, &c.; Bishop Gastrell's *Notitia Cestr.* vol. 2, pp. 567–8.

¹ p. 3. ² p. 4. ³ p. 4. ⁴ p. 3. ⁵ p. 4. ⁶ p. 4. ⁷ p. 4; *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xii.; Vincent's *MSS.* No. 503, fo. 59, in Coll. Arm. London.

at Trafford, had just extinguished one of the oldest of the feudal houses in the Hundred, rendered a quit rent for lands in Bolton-le-Moors; and the great heiress of Sir Geoffrey Mascy¹ acknowledged the superior claim of the Abbey to at least a portion of her inheritance at Worsley.

In the HUNDRED of WEST DERBY, Thomas the first Earl of Derby K.G.,² Sir Alexander Standish of Standish,³ Sir William Norres of Speke,⁴ and Sir Henry Halsall of Halsall, Knts.;⁵ Langton of Low,⁶ Orell of Orell,⁷ Winstanley of Winstanley,⁸ Bold of Bold,⁹ Scarisbrick of Scarisbrick,¹⁰ and Bradshaigh of Haigh¹¹ were also amongst the tenants holding of the Abbey.

In the HUNDRED OF LEYLAND, the ancient territorial owners, the flaringtons of flarington,¹² and Banastres of Bank,¹³ both descended from early Norman proprietors, and the more modern families of Chorley¹⁴ and Rigby¹⁵ were connected with the house by the payment of small quit rents, indicating a remote antiquity.

In the HUNDRED OF AMOUNDERNESS the heirs of Sir Edward Bethom of Bethom,¹⁶ and of Sir Robert Haryngton of Hornby,¹⁷ Sir Thomas Lawrence of Ashton,¹⁸ the Urswicks of Urswick,¹⁹ the Kirkbys of Kirkby,²⁰ the Butlers of Rawcliffe²¹ and Kirkland,²² Gardner²³ the benefactor of Lancaster, Catterall of Catterall,²⁴ and Stanley of Hornby Castle,²⁵ the last of whom had just succeeded to the large estates of the Dacres²⁶ and Harringtons,²⁷ were all connected with the Abbey by the ties of property; whilst more than one member of the old house of Croft,²⁸ early benefactors of the Abbey, still retained their connection with it, and long and fondly lingered about their ancestral lands at Claughton.

¹ p. 4.	² p. 6.	³ p. 5.	⁴ p. 7.	⁵ p. 5.	⁶ p. 4.	⁷ p. 4.
⁸ p. 5.	⁹ p. 7.	¹⁰ p. 7.	¹¹ p. 4.	¹² p. 11.	¹³ p. 11.	¹⁴ p. 10.
¹⁵ p. 10.	¹⁶ p. 11.	¹⁷ p. 22.	¹⁸ p. 19.	¹⁹ p. 11.	²⁰ p. 14.	²¹ p. 16.
²² p. 16.	²³ p. 19.	²⁴ p. 16.	²⁵ p. 24.	²⁶ p. 24.	²⁷ p. 22.	²⁸ pp. 22, 23.

IN CUMBERLAND, Sir John Pennington of Muncaster¹ and Sir Thomas Lamplugh of Lamplugh² Knts.; in WESTMORELAND the Redmaynes³ and Manserghs;⁴ and in YORKSHIRE the Middletons⁵ and Bainbrigges⁶ did fealty for some of their lands, and owed suit and service to the house.

Of the religious foundations in Lancashire which held lands of the Abbey, or lands and tenements charged with payments to it, were the Abbey of B. V. Mary of Whalley⁷ and the Priories of Burscough⁸ and Hornby;⁹ also the Hospital of St. John in Chester,¹⁰ the Abbess and Convent of Sion in Middlesex,¹¹ the Abbot of Croxton Keyrial in Leicestershire,¹² and the Priory of St. Leonard in York;¹³ whilst the Rector of Tatham¹⁴ in the deanery of Lonsdale was the only parish priest who paid a pension or probably a quit rent to the Abbey for his benefice, lands, or other immunities.

On the 28th March 1544, 35 Henry VIII. the Crown granted the dissolved Abbey, with the site and certain lands, to John and Robert Gardner of Pilling (who were probably Abbey tenants),¹⁵ at a rent of 73*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, and the same were shortly afterwards conveyed 35 Henry VIII. in fee for 79*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* to John Kitchen Esq. (whose family had probably also been connected with the house),¹⁶ then residing at Hatfield co. Herts., and supervisor of the Augmentation Office, but afterwards of Pilling Hall near Cokersand, and a burgess in parliament. As the Monastic buildings soon fell he had probably been an active iconoclast.¹⁷

¹ p. 27. ² p. 27. ³ p. 26. ⁴ p. 26. ⁵ p. 28. ⁶ p. 28. ⁷ p. 4.

⁸ p. 7. ⁹ p. 24. ¹⁰ p. 21. ¹¹ p. 21. ¹² p. 25. ¹³ p. 28.

¹⁴ p. 22. ¹⁵ pp. 17, 18. ¹⁶ p. 17.

¹⁷ A crumbling fragment of wall on the edge of the cliff is still called St. John's Chapel, and may have been a chantry chapel in the Abbey church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the favourite patron saint of the Order.

The Abbey estate within ten years passed away from his name and house in marriage with Ann his eldest daughter and coheiress (by deed dated August 29th, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary) to Robert Dalton of Bispham, who purchased the adjoining manor of Thurnham in 1556, and, dying childless in 1580, was succeeded by his nephew. In the fourth generation it was again conveyed in marriage by an heiress to William Hoghton of Park Hall Esq., who thereupon assumed the surname of Dalton, and whose last male descendant died without issue in 1819, having predeceased his father.

The Abbey, built of red friable stone, was probably at no time remarkable for the extent of its buildings, the enrichment of its architecture, or the exuberance of its ornamentation; nor can the arrangement and disposition of its several parts now be ascertained. The conventual church is named at an early period,¹ and the octagonal chapter house, probably approached from the cloisters,² still remains, being thirty feet in diameter, and its walls two feet four inches in thickness. It is surrounded at the base of the interior wall by a low continued seat of stone, said to have been originally appropriated to the stalls belonging to the Abbot and Canons. The oak canopies of the stalls, if formerly at the back of each seat, and this tradition will at least admit of doubt, may be seen

¹ William son of John de Hacanesshaw (Hackensall) lord of Hacanesshaw and Presaw (Presall), confirmed by deed s.d. to the *Church of Cokersand* all the lands granted by his father. This, by computation of dates, would be in the time of King John. Various members of this family occur as attestors in deeds of Hamelton, Stalmine and Staynol; the earlier deeds are without date, but written between the years 1199 and 1303. In the last deed, 2 Edward III., "Richard lord of Hacounshou, and John of the same," occur. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxviii. pp. 377 – 383. The manor passed from them to the Butlers of Hackensall.

² Mr. Dallaway says this was always the case, but the chapter house at Wells was surely an exception.

at the present day appropriately preserved in Lancaster Church, as the screen of the Abbatial Church is at Mitton. The roof is supported on an insulated Anglo-Norman shaft in the centre of the house, resting on a broad plinth of masonry, and is conjoined with the pointed arches of its fine groined ceiling. It is considered by Whitaker to be nearly coeval with the original foundation, although the style of the windows would imply a rather more recent date. The sculptured faces remaining on the capitals are rudely carved, without any expression either of dignity or piety, and are characteristic of the same early pointed style. The chapter house "is indeed a gem," and although it appears in 1727 in Buck's *South-East View*¹ as dismantled, and overgrown with ivy, such is not its present condition. A roof of lead was added, and the whole building restored, if not in good taste at least with reverential feeling, by the last Mr. Dalton, whose ancestors had long appropriated it as the family mausoleum. The estate passed in March 1861, on the death of his daughter, Miss Dalton of Thurnham Hall, to her distant relative Sir James George Fitzgerald of Castle Ishen in the co. of Cork, the present owner of Cokersand Abbey.

* * * *

"And there the shatter'd fabric stands,
And crowns the dizzy steep.

* * * *

Fast falling now that holy pile,
Of winds and storms the sport ;
A lonely beacon on the brow
To point the sheltering port."

F. R. R.

¹ Vol. ii.

Kentale omī' ffirmar Reddit' 't Suic
dom' de Cokersand ffactū p Jacobū
Skypton celler¹ de t'mio incipient' ad
festū Pent' e Sci Martini i yeme²
Anno dñi Millo D^o j^o

Salforthschyr' Tent' ad volut'.

H ohcs laythwayte redd. p annū iii capon	} v ^{li}
Georg laythwayte r̄ p annū ii capon	
Hankyn laythwayte r̄ p annū i capon	
Ric. Parrys ten' vnū teñt redd. p annū iiiii capon...	xxvj ^s viii ^d
Vx. Robti Holden ten' j ten' redd. p annū ii capon	xii ^s
Vx. Johs Holden ten' j teñt r̄. p annū ii capon ...	xii ^s
Ead. vx. t ₃ vnā claus ⁹ r̄. p annū ii capon	viii ^s
Laurence Rygbe t ₃ j t'. r̄. p annū iiiii capon.....	xxii ^s
Vx. Ade Holden t ₃ j t'. r̄. p annū iiiii capon	xx ^s
Jacob' Peñylber ⁹ t ₃ j t'. r̄. p annū ii capon	x ^s
Ead. ³ Jacob t ₃ ptem de Smalemanland ⁴ r̄. p annū .	iiii ^s
Galfrid ⁹ Peñylbur ⁹ t ₃ j t'. r̄. p annū j capon.....	iiii ^s vj ^d
Nycol. Peñylber ⁹ t ₃ j t'. p annū iii capon	xiii ^s ix ^d
Vx. Johs Merscer t ₃ j t'. r̄. p annū iiiii capon	xxi ^s viii ^d

¹ The Cellerer or Butler was an officer in a Monastery, who had the charge of the household stores and provisions.

² Winter — 11th November.

³ *Idem*.

⁴ The land originally allotted to small tenants.

Will ⁹ Hokekynson t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iiii capon ...	xxii ^s	
Will ⁹ Hokekynson t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iii capon ...	xxi ^s	viii ^d
Thomās Cowp t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iiii capon	xvi ^s	
Robt Hokekynson t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iii capon	xix ^s	
Thomas Rycrofte t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iiii capon	xxii ^s	
Johēs H t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iii capon	xl ^s	
Johēs Rygby senior t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iiii capon ...	xl ^s	
Johēs Rygby junior t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iii capon ...	xl ^s	
Ric. Harte junior t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iiii capon iiij ^{li}	ii ^s	
Laurence Horrocks t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū vj capon ...	xxxv ^s	vi ^d
Vx. Oliū Rygby t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iiii capon	xl ^s	
Johēs Penyngton t ₃ j teñt quond ī tenuř Elene Lauton ř. p annū i capon	vii ^s	
Roĝ Dyconson t ₃ j teñt ř. p annū iiii capon	xx ^s	
Hugo Nayler t ₃ j teñt ř. p annū vj capon	xxviii ^s	
Henř Derbyschyre t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū ij capon	x ^s	
Ric. Rygby t ₃ j t'. redd. p annū vj capon	xx ^s	
Vx. Galfridi Schakerley t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū ij capon .	xxiii ^s	
Willmūs Smyth t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū ij capon	xvi ^s	
Roĝ Penylbere t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū ad voluntat'		xiii ^d
Edmund ⁹ Andreton t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iiii capon ...	xxviii ^s	vii ^d
Omfridus Riland t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iiii capon	xxxviii ^s	iii ^d
Will ⁹ Wodward t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū ii capon	xix ^s	
Jhoñ Peñyngton t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iiii capon	xxxiii ^s	iii ^d
Vx. Nycol Grene t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū ii capon	xiii ^s	
Johñ Penyngton 7 Willm Mador t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū ii capon.....	x ^s	
Johñ Penyngton 7 vx. Nycol Grene t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū ii capon.....	vi ^s	viii ^d
Willm Mador t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū iii capon.....	xi ^s	iii ^d
Jacob Palfroutt t ₃ j t'. ř. p annū ii capon	xiii ^s	
Idm Jacob t ₃ ptem le Smalemālands ř. p annū ...		iii ^d

Ambros Makand t3 j t'. ř. p annū ii capoñ.....	xliiis
Aleř Keyreslay t3 j t'. ř. p annū ii capoñ	viii ^s iiiid
Thurstan ¹ Lee t3 j t'. ř. p annū vi capoñ	xx ^s
Vx. Willm Makand t3 j t'. ř. p annū ij capoñ.....	xvi ^s
Jacob3 Dyconson t3 j t'. ř. p annū ij capoñ.....	xii ^s
Rog ² Dyconson t3 j t'. ř. p annū iiii capoñ	xx ^s
Radulfus Chaddoke t3 iii acř tře ě di ř. p annū	iii ^s iiiid
Vx. Johīs Mador t3 molend aquaticū ř. p annū	xliiis iiiid
Robt ³ Aspull in Hyndlay t3 j t'. ř. p annū.....	iiiis

Lib' Tent' ěbđm̄.

 x. Johīs Molinux t3 tře in Haghton lib. ř. p annū	vi ^s x ^d
Johñ Lee t3 ibm̄ lib. ř. p annū.....	xxi ^d
Idm̄ Johēs p nouo apřomento ¹ ř. p annū	ii ^d
Rog ² Dyconson t3 t'. ibm̄ lib. ř. p annū	xx ^d
Thom's Ischerwod t3 t'. ibm̄ lib. ř. p annū	iii ^s
Radulfus Chaydok t'. ibm̄ lib. ř. p annū	ix ^d

Sm̄ lji^{li} vj^s x^d
 [£52 I 8]²

Alii Lib' Tent' inf^a Salforthschpr³.

 dmund Trafforth mil. t3 lib. i Chorletō Bexweke ě Whetȳgton ³ ř. p annū	iiii ^s
Nycol Peron t3 lib. in ffaylesworth ř. p annū.....	xii ^d
Johēs Crompton t3 in Crompton lib. ř. p annū	xii ^d

¹ New improvement.

² The Bursar does not seem to have been expert in his arithmetic, as the Rental was higher than he made it appear to be.

³ Withington.

Rog ² Pylkyngton t ₃ lib. in Chetam ad pitaciā conuēt ¹	
ř.....	ii ^s
Ric. Cowen t ₃ in Penylber ⁹ iuxta Eccles ř.	xii ^d
Johñ Both miles t ₃ ad volunt' iuxta Barton sup	
Irwillm ř.	xvi ^d
Heř Galfrid. Masse t ₃ t ₃ ra in Worsley ad voluntat' ř.	ii ^s
Thomas Longworth t ₃ in Longworth lib. ř.	xii ^d
Idm Thomas t ₃ t'. ibm ad voluntat' ř.....	xii ^d
Robt Hylton t ₃ t'. in Halywell lib. ř.	ii ^s
Abbas Moñ bē Marie de Whallay t ₃ t'. quond Johis	
Eccles i Mawntō ř.....	xii ^d
Adam Hylton t ₃ j cla ³ vocat' Hulton Park ř.....	viii ^s
Georġ Atherton t ₃ t'. in Lostoke lib. ř. ..	xii ^d
Ric. Eshton miles t ₃ in Aynsworth lib. ř.	xii ^d
Heř Jacobi Haryngton milit. p t'. in Langworth voč	
Kyrklād lib.	vi ^d

Lib' Tent' in Derbyschyr' iuxt' Wigan.

H er Thome Torton t ₃ t'. in Hyndlay lib. ř. p	
annū	vi ^d
Gilbt Langton t ₃ t'. quond Ada Halkynson lib. ř. ...	vi ^d
Edmund Langton t ₃ t'. quond vocat' Medwalland ř.	ii ^s vi ^d
Rog Bradscha t ₃ t'. in Hay lib. ř.	xii ^d
Ric. Halghton t ₃ t'. in Aspull vocat' Scrapps ř.	ii ^d
Johñ Heschton t ₃ t'. in Abram lib. ř.	xii ^d
Will ^m Culchyth t ₃ t'. ř.	xii ^d
Ric. Adreton t ₃ t'. in Bekyrschawe lib. t'.	vi ^d
Robt Bolton t ₃ t'. in Bekyrschawe ibm lib. ř.....	vi ^d
Robt ⁹ Oryll t ₃ t'. in Orrell ř.	ii ^d

¹ *Pittacium conventus* might be the original roll or schedule of the Abbey tenants, specifying the tenures; but more probably a *pittance*, being a little repast or feast, is here meant.

Heř Rořti Holand t ₃ t'. in Orell lib. ř.	x ^d
Aleř Standysch miles t ₃ t'. lib. ř.	xii ^d
Ric. Scott t ₃ in Peṁton lib. ř.	xii ^d
Edmūd Wynstanley t ₃ in Wynstanle lib. ř.	xii ^d
Id. Edmūd ¹ t ₃ t'. ad volunt' ř.	xii ^d
Rořt ¹ Andreton t ₃ t'. in Ince iuxta Wegan ř.	x ^d
Heř Adam Bukley t ₃ t'. in Pemertō iux ^a Legh kyrk scole lib. ř.	vi ^d
Karolus Geleb nd t ₃ t'. in Hastlay lib. ř.	xii ^d
Idm̄ Karolus t ₃ ad volunt' ibm̄ ř.	xii ^d
Petrus Schakerlay t ₃ in Tyldyslay lib. ř.	xii ^d

Lydyate, Hyrleton 't Barton.¹

 ycol Langbake t ₃ t'. in Lydyate ř. p annū ij capoñ	xiii ^s iiii ^d
Gylbt ¹ Brodehede t ₃ t'. lib. ř. p annū.	xii ^d
Vx. Gilbti Barton t ₃ t'. ř. p annū	v ^s
Johñ Noresse t ₃ t'. in Barton lib. ř.	xii ^d
Henř Halsall miles t ₃ piscariā ⁊ t'ram nrā ₃ de Formeby ⁊ Aynsdale ř.	xx ^s
Thomas Plome t ₃ t'. in Allerton ř.	vi ^s viii ^d
Dom ¹ Hospitał Sci Johīs Cestrie p moss ḡ ^a unge ² m ^o in tenuř d'd' hervy ³	v ^s
Ric. Tarleton in Hyrleton lib. ř.	xii ^d

¹ Lydiat in Melling and Barton in Down-Holland are in Halsall parish, whilst Hurleston within Scarisbrick is in Ormskirk.

² Moss Grange.

³ *Sic.*

Conschogh.¹

R adulfus Knolle t ₃ t'. in Conschogh redd. iiii capoñ	xlvs
Henř Tatloke t ₃ t'. ř. iiii capoñ	xxs
Ric. flecher t ₃ t'. ř. iiii capoñ	xvls
John Barkar t ₃ t'. ř. ii capoñ	ixs viid
Vx. Symonis Hunt t ₃ j t'. ř. ii capoñ	xliiis vjd
Henř Asmull t ₃ t'. ř. iii capoñ	xvs iid
Edmnd Tyrehař t ₃ t'. ř. iii capoñ	xvls
Idm̃ Edmūd t ₃ j cla ² r.	xxid
Radulfus Bekyrstath t ₃ j t'. ř. iiii capoñ	xvls iiid
Ric. Cowp t ₃ j t'. ř. ii capoñ	xxs
Robt Aderton t ₃ j t'. ř. ii capoñ	xxs
Thomas Hall t ₃ qwytschyfyld ř.	vs

Lib' Cent' in Derbyschyr'.

T homas Comes de Derby t ₃ t'. in Dalton vocat' Byrkynschaw lib. ř.	xliid
Idm̃ Thomas p mañio de Raynforth lib. ř.	liiij ^d
Robt ¹ Seffeton t ₃ ij t'. in Burtonhede ř.	xi ^d
Matthe ¹ Male t ₃ in Ayntř ř.	xliid
Thomas Adyrton t ₃ t'. in Bylyng vocat' Grukhurst ř.	xviii ^d
Johēs Dugard t ₃ t'. in Mellyng m ^o in tenuř Robti More ř.	xliid
Robt ¹ Awte t ₃ t'. vocat' Rugtwayt ř.	viii ^d
Johēs Pulle t ₃ t'. vocat' Rugtwayt ř.	xliiij ^d
Ric. ffaldryng t ₃ t'. vocat' Scolmas ² land ř.	vjd
Robt Tatloke t ₃ c ² tā t ² řam cū mossa ř.	xvi ^d
Gilbt ¹ Walche t ₃ t'. in Agheton ř.	xliid

¹ Alias Keniscough, in Halsall parish.

Ric. Gorschawe t ₃ ij t'. in Lydyate ř.	ii ^s
Johēs Tokholes t ₃ t'. lib. ř.	ii ^d
Heř Roḥti Bradlay t ₃ t'. in Male ř.....	vj ^d
Heř de Lond ₃ in Mellyng ř.....	vj ^d
Will ^m Norresse miles t ₃ t'. in Allertō voč Pūcher- crofte m ^o in tenuř Tho. Plome ř.....	vi ^d
Johēs Molenesse t ₃ t'. in Thorntō lib. ř.....	xii ^d
Johēs Lassell t ₃ t'. in Holland lib. ř.	xii ^d
Ranulfus Eccleston iux ^a Eccles ř..	ii ^s
Henř Standysch t ₃ Scollē iux ^a Sutton lib. ř.	viii ^d
Ric. Cowp t ₃ t'. in Wyndyll lib. ř.	ii ^s
Johñ Arslynge t ₃ t'. in Wyndyll ř.	xii ^d
Heř Colley t ₃ t'. in Wyndyll ř.	xii ^d
Johēs Eschede iux ^a Torboke ř.	xii ^d
Heř Henrici Buld t ₃ t'. vocat' qwykfyld ř.....	vj ^d
Heř Thome Buld t ₃ t'. vocat' Pesfyld m ^o in tenura Oliū Sale ř.	xviii ^d
Jacob qwytlaw t ₃ t'. in Sutton ř.	viii ^d
Roḥt ¹ Ballard t ₃ t'. vocat' Kyngsfyld ř.	xii ^d
Gilḥt Wodfall t ₃ t'. lib. ř.	vi ^d
Prior de Bursko t ₃ t'. in Dalton lib. ř.	xii ^d
Gilḥt ¹ Skaresbrek t ₃ t'. j acř tře i Skaresbrek ř. ...	ii ^s
Henric ¹ Halsall miles t ₃ t'. in Halsall lib. ř.	ii ^s
Johēs Jacson t ₃ t'. in Natyler lib. ř.	vi ^s

Sṁ^a xviⁱ xvi^s

Carleton 't Holmes.

 iſſm Sutton t ₃ t'. ř. iii gall ^o	xii ^s
 Jacob ₃ Dande t ₃ t'. ř. iii gall ^o	xx ^s
Wiſſm Jynkynson t ₃ t'. ř. iii gall ^o	xi ^s
Vx. Henř Dandy t ₃ t'. ř.	v ^s

Rentale de Cokersand.

Roðt ^q Walbank t ₃ t'. ř. iij gall ^o	iiii ^s
Henř Wygnall t ₃ t'. ř. iii gall ^o	viii ^s
Johēs Wygnall t ₃ t'. ř. iii gall ^o	vii ^s
Ric. Wygnall t ₃ t'. ř. iii gall ^o	xiiii ^s
Henř Dande t ₃ t'. ř. iii gall ^o	x ^s
Thomas Gybonson t ₃ t'. vocat' Holmes ř.	iiii marcē iii ^s iii ^d

Lib' Tent' Kbm.

 Henř Banestř lib. in Tarleton	i ^d ob.
 Hugo Croston in Tarleton lib.	iiii ^d
Rog ^o Wygnall t ₃ in Tarleton lib.	i ^d ob.
Rog ^o Call lib. ibm ř.	i ^d
Ric. fforcha t ₃ lib. ibm	iii ^d
Wiffm Tarleton t ₃ t'. vocat' Grevyslands	xii ^d

Hotton.

 arul ^q ffaryngton ¹ t ₃ maner de Hotton 7 ^o p annū	xii ^{li}
Vx. Roðti Henreson t ₃ t'. ř.	xiii ^s iii ^d
Henř Tomlynson t ₃ t'. ř.	x ^s
Vx. Henry Wyldyng t ₃ t'. ř.	xxvi ^s iii ^d
Will ^m Martyn t ₃ t'. ř.	xxii ^s
Radulf ^q Mayř t ₃ t'. ř.	xx ^s
Ric. Mayre t ₃ t'. ř.	xiii ^s viii ^d

¹ Charles ffaryngton, third son of Sir William ffaryngton of Worden, was the first of his name who held Hutton Grange from the Abbey, which was purchased at the Dissolution by his grandson, Richard ffaryngton Esq., who married the daughter of Thomas Brotherton of Ulswalton, co. Lancaster. The purchaser's grandson, Francis ffaryngton Esq., had by his wife Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Hesketh of Rufford Knt., no issue male, but a sole daughter and heiress, who conveyed the estate in marriage to Sir Edward Osbaldiston of Osbaldiston Knt. *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xii.; Dugdale's *Visit. Lanc.*; Holland Watson's *MS. Ped.* Sir Henry Spelman would not have regarded this as an unimportant fact.

Vx. Johēs Wyldyng t ₃ t'. ř.	xviii ^s
Jacob ⁹ Mayř t ₃ t'. ř.	xxii ^s
Jynkyn Wylkyson t ₃ t'. ř.	xvii ^s
Thomas Hudson t ₃ t'. ř.	xx ^s
Vx. Thome Evys t ₃ t'. ř.	xv ^s
Henř Thomlynson t ₃ j cla ³ vocat' Byreh ř.	ii ^s iiiid
Thome Mayř t ₃ t'. ř.	xvi ^s
Will ^m fforeste t ₃ t'. ř.	xvii ^s
Ric. Myln t ₃ t'. cū Bradforthgrevys ř.	xxxii ^s
Thomas Taylyo ^r t ₃ molend aquatič de Bradforth 7 molē vent ⁹ ř.	xxii ^s
Vx. Ric. Scherdley t ₃ i toftū vocat' Hancrofte m ^o in tenuř Lewes Loğton ř.	x ^d
Thomas Garsten t ₃ t'. ř.	iii ^s iiiid
Vx. Rog ⁱ Tuson t ₃ t'. ř.	viii ^s
Oñes teñt de Hotton dant dño p lee leys ¹ iuxt ^a Rybyll xlviii gall ⁹	
Ibñ teñt p deH carre ² iux ^a Bradforthgrevys ř. xii gall ⁹	

Sñma xxx^{li} xiiii^s v^d

Lib' Cent' Ebm.

E ř Laurenč Starky t ₃ ibm	ii ^s vj ^d
Thomas Waryng t ₃ j t'. lib. ř.	xii ^d
Idm Thom ^s t ₃ t'. quond Ade Aynolsdale ³ ř.	xiii ^d
Will ^m Wylson t ₃ t'. m ^o in manib ₃ Nichol Hyton ř	iii ^d
Thomas Bradton t ₃ lib.	iii ^s
Idm Thomas p diu pcell lib. ř.	iii ^d
Idm Thom. t ₃ j acř et j rod tre ř.	j ^d quart ⁹

¹ The low pasture land sloping to the Ribble.
land covered with wood.

² Part of the peat
³ Aynsdale.

Will ^m Dobson t ₃ lib. ř.	j ^d
Edward Mayř t ₃ j messuağ quond Joh ^s Ged ^p peny ř	xiiii ^d
Xpofm Bayne t ₃ lib. ř.	ij ^d ob.
Will ^m Strykland t ₃ lib. ř.	x ^d
Lewes Langton t ₃ lib. ř.	x ^d
Henř Scherdley t ₃ lib. ř.	x ^d
Joh ^s Hogeson t ₃ lib. ř.	ii ^s vi ^d
Joh ⁿ Robynson t ₃ t'. vocat' Selbylands ř.	vii ^d ob.
Henř Ward t ₃ iure vx. sue lib. ř.	xii ^d ob.
Idm Henř t ₃ Cardolls ř.	j ^d quadř
Will ^m Mygeholl t ₃ lib. ř.	iii ^d
Joh ⁿ Banke t ₃ t'. duos pcell lib. ř.	vii ^d
Joh ^s Tuson t ₃ t'. quond Woddslands lib. ř.	viii ^d
Idm John Tuson p nouo puumęto ¹ ř.	j ^d quadř

Alii Lib' Cent' inf^a Laplandschyr'.

H er de Carrehowse lib. ř.	x ^d
R ic. Gyrdley t ₃ t'. vsus Carrehowse ř.	vii ^d
Nicol. Rygby t ₃ t'. lib. ř. de Harrok-hyll ²	vi ^d
Will ^m fynch t ₃ t'. lib.	vi ^d
Rob ^{tus} Stopfurth t ₃ t'. lib.	vi ^d
Gylbt ^{us} Banys ^t de fayrehyrste t ₃ t'. in Whytyngtō t Pbald ř.	xxi ^d
Joh ^s Aschyrste t ₃ t'. lib.	xii ^d
Will ^m Chorley t ₃ t'. lib. ř.	xii ^d
Huğ Crostone in Bradatton lib. ř.	j ^d ob.
Radulf ⁹ Woodward t ₃ t'. in Schevyngtō lib. ř.	vi ^d
Heř de Tunlay in Whytyngton ř.	xii ^d

¹ See *ante* p. 3 note.

² Harrock Hall in Eccleston parish, in the deanery of Leyland, was at an early period the seat of the Rigby family. — See Gastrell's *Not. Cestr.* vol. ii. pt. iii. pp. 373-4.

Thomas ffaryngton in Clayton lib. ř.	xii ^d
Ric. Wyrdyn t ₃ t'. in Kerden ř.	xii ^d
Edward ¹ Croston t ₃ in Croston ř.	j ^d
Ric. Banys ² t ₃ ibm ř.	vi ^d
Huġ Banes ² t ₃ in Bred ² ton ř.	ii ^d
Ric. Longtre t ₃ t'. vocat' Brokfyld ř.	xii ^d

Amūdernesse.

 Laurence Page t ₃ totā t ^r am n ^r am in P ^r ston ř. p annū	xl ^s
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Warton, Hewton e Skalys.

 Jamys Browne t ₃ t'. in Skalys lib. ř.....	xii ^d
Idm Jamys t ₃ t ^r a quond Elyenoř Mylne lib. .	viii ^d
Heř Ric. Smyth t ₃ ibm lib.	vi ^d
Will ^m flecher t ₃ t'. in Warton ř	xx ^s
Robt Clystone de Kydsnape t ₃ t'. i Wartō lib. ř. ...	vi ^s
Heř Ric. flecher in Warton m ^o in tenuř Johīs Syn- gletō lib. ř.....	xviii ^d
Heř Thome Vrswyke t ₃ lib. ř.	iiii ^d
Heř Edwardi Bethū milit' t ₃ lib. ř. in Weton.....	vi ^d
Johñ Taylyor t ₃ t'. vocat' Pulhowse sup Rybyll lib. ř.	iii ^d
Cuthb ^t Clyfton t ₃ ibm lib. ř.	iii ^d
Thomas Bekerstaffe in Skalys lib. ř.	viii ^d

Pluton, Grenehalgh, Corneraw¹ e Thystylton.

 John P ^r mett t ₃ in Plumton tent' ř. iiiii gall ^o ...	vi ^s viii ^d
Hugo Haghton t ₃ in Thystylton lib. ř... ..	ii ^s

¹ Henry Cornrue of Cornrue gent. occurs amongst the *Liberi Tenentes* of Amounderness in 1621. The name, now spelt Corna, lingers about St. Michael's, but this place seems to be Corney-row in Kirkham.

Rentale de Cokersand.

Idm̃ Huḡ in Corneraw lib. ř.	j ^d
Vx. Thome Duñerdale t ₃ in Grenehalgh lib. ř.	xii ^d
Ric. Greneholl t ₃ in Greneholl e Whytacř lib. ř. ...	vi ^s vi ^d
Jamys Butler t ₃ Esbrek lib. ř.....	vi ^d
Rošt Coward t ₃ t'. in Thystylton ij gall ⁹ ř.....	xii ^s

Mydlargh.¹

M ill ^a m Hall t ₃ t'. ad volūt ř. vi gall ⁹	xxvi ^s viii ^d
Will ^a m Horneby ² t ₃ t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	xxvi ^s viii ^d
Jamys Horneby t ₃ t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	xxvi ^s viii ^d
Henř Nycson t ₃ t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	xxvi ^s viii ^d

Syngleton.

H ohčs Hogerd t ₃ t'. ř. vi capon... ..	xl ^s
Thom ^a s ffell t ₃ t'. ř. vi capon.....	xl ^s
Johñ Haw t ₃ t'. ř. vi capon	xl ^s
Idm̃ teñt tenem. feremā place ř.	xiii ^s iiiii ^d
Wifm Dobson	ij ^s

Magna Carleton 't p̄ba.

T homas Hull t ₃ t'. in Carleton ř. p annū.....	xxvi ^s
Will ^a m Bameburgh t ₃ t̄ra nrā; ibm̄ ř.	xv ^s
Ric. Schortred t ₃ t̄ram nrām ibm̄ ř.....	iii ^s
Georḡ Carleton t ₃ t̄ram nrām in pua Carleton ř.....	vi ^s viii ^d
Will ^a m Hull e Thomas Hull tenēt molēd vent' quond ř.	iii ^s iiiii ^d

¹ It would scarcely appear from this rental that the whole of the township of Medlar in the parish of Kirkham belonged to the Abbey of Cokersand. — See Baines's *Hist. Lanc.* vol. iv. p 400.

² There is still an old yeoman-family of this name in Medlar.

Merton, Pulhowse, Laton, Hayholme,
Pulton & Thornton.¹

D ñs de Laton ř. de Cam ^a sua annuatĩ.....	xl ^s
Idm Dñs t ₃ t'. vocat'. Threfylds lib. ř.....	vi ^d
Vx. Willim Sawnd ^l son t ₃ in M'ton ř.....	xviii ^s viii ^d
Will ^m Galt' t ₃ t'. ř.....	ix ^s iiiii ^d
Robt Whytsyde t ₃ t'. vocat' Pulhowse ř.....	x ^d
Johñ Anyon t ₃ t'. in Hayholme ř.	xiii ^s iiiii ^d
Will ^m Hull t ₃ ibm ř.	xiii ^s iiiii ^d
Henř Taylyo ^r t ₃ in Pulton vocat' Abbots Acř ř. . . .	xii ^d
Will ^m Dauy t ₃ in Thornton t'. ř.	iiii ^s

Esbrek, Elyswyk & Eccleston.²

D x. Robti Kyrkby t ₃ in Eccleston ř.....	iii ^s
Robt Thomasson t ₃ gardiñ in Elswyk ř.....	xii ^d
Heř Johñs Sothworth t ₃ t'. in Elyswyk ř.	xii ^d
Johñs ffylde t ₃ t'. in Eccleston ř.	x ^d

Presall.³

D x. Robti Bradschay ⁴ t ₃ t'. ibm ř. vi gall ^o ...	xxvi ^s	ii mess.
Thomas Bell t ₃ cla ^s vocat' fyschercrofte		
ř. ij gall ^o	x ^s	ii mess.
Robt Dughty f. Ric. Kyl ⁿ t ₃ t'. ř. vj gall ^o	xx ^s	ij mess.
Thomas Benett ř. vj gall ^o	xx ^s	ij mess.
Edward ffyscher ř. iiiii gall ^o	xii ^s	iii mess.

¹ Marton and Thornton are townships in the parish of Poulton. Pulhouse was probably a farm, now unknown, whilst Hayholme is the township of Holmes. Laton is in the parish of Bispham.

² Esbrick is in Kirkham parish, whilst Elswick and Eccleston are in St. Michael's.

³ Presall is in Lancaster parish.

⁴ So pronounced to this day. A family of the same name resides here as yeomen.

Vx. Thome Chatburne ř. ijij gall ^o	iiii ^s	ii mess.
Vx. Nicol. Hey ř. vii gall ^o	xiii ^s x ^d	iii mess.
Ric. Dugthy ř. v gall ^o	xii ^s	ii mess.

Staynoll, Stalmyn e Hamylton.¹

P et ^r Dyconson in Staynoll ř. vj gall ^o	xvi ^s	ij mess.
I d ^m Pet ^r t ₃ ib ^m ř. iij gall ^o	xii ^s	i mess.
Jamys Alenson t ₃ t'. ř. iij gall ^o	x ^s	iiii mess.
Jamys Dugthy t ₃ t'. ř. vi gall ^o	xiii ^s	ii mess.
Vx. Rob ^t i Dyconson t ₃ t'. ř. v gall ^o	xiii ^s	ii mess.
Ric. Dyconson t ₃ t'. in Stalmyn ř. vi gall ^o	xv ^s	ii mess.
Heř Ade Syngleton t ₃ in Hamylton m ^o in tenuř		
Joh ⁿ s Cart ^o 2 ř.		xviii ^d

Rawcliff e Trenac^r.³

W ill ^m Kyrkby ⁴ t ₃ j ac ^r tře e d ⁱ in Trenac ^r ř....		xviii ^d
I d ^m Will ^m t ₃ t ^r am nr ^m in Rawcliff ř.	iii ^s	iiii ^d
Will ^m Hoge ^k ynson t ₃ t'. in P ^r va Eccleston lib. ř....	ii ^s	
Will ^m Greneholl t ₃ t'. ř.	ii ^s	
Henř Raby t ₃ t'. ř.	xi ^s	vi ^d

Gosenargh.

J oh ⁿ s Henreson t ₃ t'. in Gosenargh ř. p annū...	ix ^s	
H enř Waryng t ₃ t'. lib. ř.		xii ^d

¹ Stainall and Stalmine are townships in Lancaster parish. Hambleton is in Kirkham parish.

² A yeoman's family of this name still here.

³ The church of St. Michael is in Upper Rawcliffe, and gives name to the parish. Tarnicar is a township in St. Michael's, claimed by the Abbot of Cockersand, zo Edward I.

⁴ The Kirbys of White Hall, in Upper Rawcliffe, held under the Abbey at a very early period.

Robt Besele ¹ t3 t'. lib. ř.	vi ^d
Alan ⁹ Catterall t3 t'. lib. ř.	vi ^d
Thom ^s Helme t3 t'. lib. ř.....	vi ^d
Will ^m Mygehall t3 t'. lib. ř.....	xii ^d
Will ^m Ambrose t3 ij t'. vocat' Horchard place ř....	xviii ^d
Johñ fydgrevys t3 t'. lib. ř.	vi ^d

Garstang cū p'tinet'

R icoll Gervas t3 t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	xvi ^s	
Ric. Stowt t3 t'. ř. vj gall ⁹ ..	xx ^s	
Robt Port ⁹ t3 t'. ř. ix gall ⁹	xxiii ^s	viii ^d
Vx. Will ^m Gervase t3 t'. ř.....	xx ^d	
Thomas Chatburne t3 t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	xx ^d	
Vx. Nicolai Sylkok t3 t'. ř. vii gall ⁹ ..	xx ^s	
Idm̃ vx. t3 t'. vocat' Clerke fyld ř. iiii gall ⁹	vi ^s	
Vx. Robti Milton t3 t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	xii ^s	viii ^d
Johñ Dorem t3 t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	ix ^s	
Rog ⁹ Smyth t3 t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	xiii ^s	
Rog ⁹ Tomlynson t3 t'. ř. iii gall ⁹	vii ^s	
Vx. Thome Strekett t3 t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	viii ^s	viii ^d
Rog ⁹ Rawthmell t3 t'. ř. iiii gall ⁹	xvi ^s	
Thomas Bradlay t3 t'. ř. iii gall ⁹ ..	iii ^s	
Robt Dorem t3 t'. ř. iiii gall ⁹	viii ^s	
Vx. Robt Wylkynson t3 t'. ř. iii gall ⁹	v ^s	
Henř Dorem t3 t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	xiii ^s	iiii ^d
Vx. Johñs Gerves t3 t'. ř. iiii gall ⁹	xi ^s	iiii ^d
Jamys Gerves t3 t'. ř. viii gall ⁹	xxviii ^s	viii ^d
Will ^m Hedsforth e fili ⁹ eiu ⁹ Wiñ ⁹ teñt t'. vocat'		
Perthyng Hall alit' dict. Abbots Skale ř.	iii ^s	iiii ^d

¹ Now spelt Beesley. George Beesley of Hill in Goosnargh gent. occurs amongst the *Liberi Tenentes* of Lancashire in 1585, and again in 1621.

Jamys Clerkson t ₃ in Wymnlegh ř. vi gall ⁹	ix ^s	
Johñ Rygmaydyn t ₃ Gyllysholme 7 Tyllysholme ¹ ř.	viii ^s	viii ^d
Jacob; Butler t ₃ in Rohall ² ř.	iii ^s	iii ^d
Will ^m Adamson t ₃ t'. iux ^a Tendberne ³ ad volut' ř.		vi ^d
Radulfus Catall t ₃ in Catall ⁴ lib. ř.		xii ^d
Will ^m Butler t ₃ i Kyrklands vocat' Uñcrofte e Bolandwra ř.		xii ^d
Heř Laureně Steyrsacr ⁵ t ₃ t'. voc' Brademedede lib. m ^o i tenuř Thome, Ric. e hered. Johñs Walkar de lancast ^r ř.		xii ^d
Edmnd ⁹ Caton t ₃ t'. in Wyresdale vocat' Sty- hyrste ř.		vi ^d
Johñ ffox t ₃ ii t'. in Wymnerlegh lib. ř.	ii ^s	vi ^d
. . . . fili ⁹ Rogi Brokholls t ₃ Carlands i byreweth ⁶ lib.	iii ^s	vi ^d
Henř ffaryngton t ₃ lyngard ⁷ lib. ř.	vi ^s	viii ^d

¹ John Rigmayden of Wedacre Hall Esq. was living in 1585. His daughter and heiress conveyed the estate by marriage to the Butlers of Kirkland. — Gastrell's *Not. Cestr.* vol. ii. part iii. p. 410. Gyllysholme and Tyllysholme are names now unknown.

² Now spelt Roe and pronounced Rooa. It is in the township of Catterall, situate between Cloughton and Churchtown.

³ Tithe Barn.

⁴ Catterall Hall, near St. Michael's but in the parish of Garstang, the seat of the Catteralls, does not occur in Bishop Gastrell's account of the old mansions of Lancashire. Dr. Whitaker however assigns a very high origin to the family, tracing their descent through the Ellands, Pontchardons, Blackburnes, and other feudal houses, from about the eleventh century. — *Whalley*, p. 253, 3rd ed. Thomas Catterall Esq. dying in January 1578, this estate passed with his daughter and coheir to R. Sherburne Esq. of Stonyhurst. It is now the property of Lady Shelley, the heiress of the Winckleys of Brockholes.

⁵ Now spelt Stirzaker and pronounced Stezzeker.

⁶ Now called Bÿreth. It is on the river Wyre.

⁷ Lingard is a farm on the Wyre about a mile from Garstang. In 1585 Henry ffarington gent. of Lingart occurs amongst the *Liberi Tenentes* of Lancashire.

fforton.¹

 Ric. Gardn̄ t̄ Johēs filius eiū ^q teñt t'			
vocat' Horegard place ř. viii gall ^o ...	xlii ^s	iiii	mess.
Johñ ffyscher t ₃ ř. viii gall ^o	xlii ^s	iiii ^d	iii mess.
Will ^m M'geryson t ₃ t'. ř. viii gall ^o	xii ^s	viii ^d	iii mess.
Xpofur Styholme t ₃ t'. ř. ii gall ^o	v ^s	i	mess.
Ric. Brade t ₃ t'. ř. vi gall ^o	xii ^s	ii	mess.
Vx. Johīs Bonde ² t ₃ t'. ř. vi gall ^o	ix ^s	vi ^d	ii mess.
Thomas Bonde t ₃ t'. ř. vi gall ^o	ix ^s	vi ^d	ii mess.
Will ^m Bonde t ₃ t'. ř. vi gall ^o	xv ^s		ii mess.
Ric. Bonde t ₃ t'. vocat' Baghyrste ř. vi gall ^o .	xv ^s	x ^d	ii mess.
Idm̄ Ric. t ₃ i cla ³ vocat' Dawson fall ř. vi gall ^o	v ^s		i mess.
Jacob ^q Curwen t ₃ t'. ř. ii gall ^o	x ^s	viii ^d	ii mess.
Johñ Gyll t ₃ t'. ř. vi gall ^o	xv ^s	viii ^d	iii mess.
Ric. Gardn ^r t ₃ t'. ř. vi gall ^o	xix ^s		ii mess.
Ric. Henresson t ₃ t'. ř. x gall ^o	xxvi ^s	x ^d	iiii mess.
Robt ffyscher senior t ₃ t'. ř. v gall ^o	xx ^s		ij mess.
Will ^m Kechen t ₃ t'. ř. vi gall ^o	xxii ^s	vj ^d	iii mess.
Edm̄nd Rayner t ₃ t'. ř. iiiii gall ^o	xi ^s		ii mess.
Jamys Dawson t ₃ t'. ř.	xvii ^s	iv ^d	
John Cutfox t ₃ t'. ř. iiiii gall ^o	x ^s		ii mess.
Jamys Charnok t ₃ t'. ř. iiiii gall ^o	x ^s	vi ^d	ii mess.
Johñ Smyth t ₃ p ^{tu} ad volūt' ř.	xvi ^d		
Will ^m Henreson t ₃ p ^{ta} ad volūt' ř.	xvi ^d		
Vx. Robti Corlose ³ t ₃ t ^{ram} nrām ř.	vi ^d		

¹ This is a township partly in Garstang and partly in Cockerham, in which latter parish the Abbey of Cokersand is situated. The whole of Forton belonged to the Monks.

² Yeomen of this name still here.

³ Corless is still a common name here.

Lib' Tent' Kbm̄.

J ohñ Brekawuse t3 t'. lib. ř. p annū.	xiii ^d
Idm̄ Johēs t3 ad volūt' j acř terre arabm̄ ř..	xii ^d
Heř Johīs Caton t3 t'. lib. ř.....	xiii ^d
Thome Corlose t3 t'. lib. ř,	xii ^d
Henř Corlose t3 t'. lib. ř.	ii ^d
Thomas Bakhowse t3 t'. lib. ř.....	xiii ^d
Johñ Marschall t3 t'. lib. ř.	ii ^s vj ^d
Thoñ Gardner t3 t'. lib. ř.	vi ^d ob.
Johñ fyscher t3 t'. vocat' Horchard place lib. ř.....	v ^d
Johñ Charnoke t3 t'. lib. ř.	ii ^s iii ^d
Heř Johīs Wyresdale t3 t'. lib. ř.....	iii ^d
Radulfus Corney t3 t'. lib. ř.....	xii ^d
Nicol. Jacson t3 t'. lib. mo° in tenuř Johīs Ryg- maydyn ř.	ii ^d

Sma xii^{li} xi^s vi^d

Ellell 't Eschton.¹

R x. Ric. Egremūds t3 dī Grange de Ellell ř. iii capon̄	iii ^{li}
Nicol. Pston ² t3 aliū dī Grange ř. iii capon̄ ...	iii ^{li}
Rošt Kempe t3 t'. ř. iii gall ⁹	xiii ^s ii mess.
Henř Apelaw t3 t'. vocat' flashowse ř. vi gall ⁹ ..	xxiii ^s ii mess.
Vx. Wiñi Harpar t3 t'. j claš ⁹ vocat' Perysfyld ř.	v ^s

¹ Ellel, four miles south from Lancaster, is a township in Cockerham, and Ashton a township in Lancaster parish, not more than three miles from the town. Ashton passed in marriage with the heiress of the De Coureys to John de Coupland, the hero of the Battle of Neville's Cross, October 17th, 1346. It was held by the great family of Laurence in 1454 and, as appears from the text, Sir Thomas Laurence had lands here in 1500.

² The Prestons continued to reside at Ellel Grange until the middle of the last century.

Thomas Laurenč miles t ₃ t _ř a vocat' Cokschoť ř..	xvi ^s	viii ^d
Idm̄ Thomas t ₃ Grangiā nr̄ā; de Eshton e		
Scotforth ř.....	xxx ^s	
Idm̄ Thomas t ₃ t'. vocat' Lykhede lib. ř.....		xii ^d
Heř Wiřki Robynson t ₃ t'. in Ellell ř.....	iiii ^s	
Idm̄ heř p Castellward ř.		i ^d ob.

Baylryg, Burgh¹ 't Scotforth.

M athe ⁹ Whynwra t ₃ in Burgh ř. iiii gall?	xv ^s	ii mess.
Johēs Gardner ² t ₃ t'. i Baylryg m ^o in tenuř		
Hospitali ⁹ Lancast ⁹ ř.		xiii ^d
Johēs Chaffer t ₃ t'. lib. m ^o in tenura Henrici		
Duket ř.		vj ^d

Middleton.³

R obti Morecrofte t ₃ Grangiā nr̄ām ř. vj		
capoñ	iiii ^{li}	vi ^s viii ^d

Lancaster 't Bolron.

R enř Duket ⁴ t ₃ t _ř a nr̄ām i Lancast ⁹ Bolron ř		
Scotforth.....	xxxvi ^s	vi ^d

¹ Burgh and Leck constitute a township in the parish of Tunstall, co. Lancaster.

² This is the founder of the almshouses in Lancaster still bearing his name, and Baylrig the estate with which in 1485 he endowed them and also a chantry in Lancaster Church. — *MS. Report Chantry Commiss.* temp. Hen. VIII.

³ Middleton in Lunesdale, a township in Lancaster parish, four miles south-west from the town, originally a member of the Saxon manor of Haltune. The third part of the manor of Middleton was held by Sir Edward Nevile of Liversage, second son of Sir John Nevile of Hornby Castle, who however in 1347 had bestowed a portion of it on Cokersand Abbey and at that time only held the sixth part. — *Lanc. MSS. Ped.* vol. xii.; Baines, iv. p. 539.

⁴ Richard Duket ob. 11 Hen. VIII. holding lands of the Abbey of Cokersand in

Idm̃ Henř t3 tĩa nrām quond̃ i tenuř Xřofi Lucasř.	xviii ^d
Idm̃ Henř t3 tĩa nrām quond̃ i tenuř Thome Bolron de le grevys ř.	xvi ^d
et hab' due clauř p̃dict' iacent' inf ^a vias de Bolron e Boromāgalus ¹	
Thomas Corbet t3 j burgagiū ř.....	x ^s x ^d
Idm̃ Thomas t3 v rods tře ř.	xxx ^d
Gylbt Whyte t3 j burgař ř. p annū	xviii ^s
Will ^m Drynkale t3 j burgagiū ř.	x ^s
Rořt James t3 j clauř quond̃ in tenuř Johīs Tasker ř.	xvi ^d
Rog ^o Sothworth t3 tĩa nrām vocat' Blakacř ř.....	iii ^s
Nycol. Chatburne t3 iii rods sup monte Haverbrek ř.	xviii ^d
Will ^m Pundř t3 j acř sup Haverbrek ř.	ii ^s
Math. Sothworth t3 j gardin iux ^a Thenelone ř.....	xii ^d
Xřofur Kylñ t3 j gardinū iux ^a Thenelone ř.....	iiii ^d
Nycol. Perysson t3 iiii acř tře 7 di sup Haverbrek 7 Hole ř.	ix ^s
Will ^m Banton t3 j rodā tře iacent' iux ^a uia regiā ř.	vi ^d
Vx. Laurenč Stodday t3 di acř tře sup Haverbrek ř.	xii ^d
Will ^m Walker t3 j rod tře ř.	vi ^d
Ric. Henreson ² e Will ^m Coltmā teñt j clauř jux ^a viā regiā in ^o Autclyf 7 Lancastř 7 but- tat' in ^o Blakacř e Hesyll hede ř.....	x ^s
Heř Johīs fřrer lib. ř.....	xii ^d

Lancaster, Bolron and Scotforth, and in the 17 Hen. VIII. Richard Dokett died holding the same lands. — *Inquis. Post Mort.* In 29 Eliz. Walter Rigmayden of Wedacre died a *lunatic* seized of these secularized Abbey possessions. — *Ibid.* See p. 8, note 1 *ante*.

¹ No such place now known.

² Probably grandfather of Thomas Harrison of Aldcliffe (the Audecliua of Domesday), who by his wife Jane Heysham of Highfield had a son Richard, the father of Sir John Harrison, born here in 1589, collector of the customs in London and one of the minor authors of the seventeenth century.

Bolton.¹

A bbatissa de Syon t3 t'. vocat' Cadmā well ř....	ii ^s
Heř Xpofi Bolton t3 t'. ibm lib. ř.	xii ^d

Byrklandbergh,² Hyldrstoⁿ³ 't Deland.⁴

R oht Lucas t3 t'. vocat' Byrklandbergh ř.....	xxiii ^s
Vx. Rohti Cuñya t3 di Hyldyrston ř.	x ^s
Edmnd ⁹ Cuñya t3 altū di de Hyldrston ř.....	x ^s
Ric. Durslett t3 j clauf vocat' Studfold ř.	iii ^s
Thome Mydleton t3 in Yeland redmayden lib. ř.	xii ^d

Caton.⁵

A lan ⁹ Wynder t3 t'. in Caton ř. iii gall ⁹	vii ^s
Roht Gybson et Thome filius ei ⁹ teñt j clauf vocat' Grymys ř. iiiii gall ⁹	xvi ^d
Idm teñt quond tenemēt Johis Curwyn ř.	xv ^s
Johēs Edmndson t3 t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	xxiii ^s
Thom ^a s Dobson t3 t'. ř. iii gall ⁹	iii ^s
Vx. Wiffi Blakburne t3 t'. ř. ii gall ⁹	iii ^s iii ^d
Roht Waryng t John Lee teñt t ř. iiiii gall ⁹	viii ^s iii ^d

¹ Bolton-le-Sands near Lancaster. The local family long continued here.

² This place appears to have been called Baggerburgh in 1430, and was within the parish of Lancaster. — See Gastrell's *Not. Cestr.* vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 429.

³ George Middleton of Leighton Esq. ob. 42 Eliz. seized *inter alia* of "Hilderston Moss" (*Inq. Post Mort.*), and John Bradley of Bradley Hall Esq. held Abbey lands "in Hilderston" as per *Inq. Post Mort.* anno 1600, which had become, by marriage, the property of Thomas Osbaldiston Esq. an outlaw 9 Jac. 1. — *Ibid.* See p. 8, note 1 ante.

⁴ Yeland Redmayne in the parish of Warton was obtained in the fifteenth century by the marriage of Alison, daughter and coheir of James Croft Esq., with Geoffrey Middleton afterwards of Leighton. — See Gastrell's *Not. Cestr.* vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 563.

⁵ A hamlet in Lancaster parish, south of the Sands and five miles east-north-east from Lancaster.

Idm̄ teñt ii acf tře ř.....		xvi ^d
Edm̄nd Tomlynson t3 j clauf vocat' Abbots crofte ř.	ii ^s	
Will ^m Grene t3 j clauf vocat' Kyrkbank ř.	ii ^s	vi ^d

Lib' Cent' Rbm̄.

R ector ecclie de Tatam t3 t'. ibm̄ lib. ř.....		vi ^d
Heř Roḡti Haryngton milit' t3 t'. lib. ř.	ii ^s	vi ^d
Heř Joh̄s Curwen t3 t'. lib. ř.....	ii ^s	vi ^d
Gylb ⁹ Tomlynson t3 t'. lib. ř.		xii ^d
Joh̄n Hudysbank t3 t'. lib. ř.		vi ^d
John Smyth t3 t'. lib. ř.	ii ^s	
Heř Wiři Oaturton t3 t'. lib. ř.		xxiii ^d
Roḡt ⁹ Whashyngton t3 t'. m ^o in tenuř Joh̄s Bill lib. ř. ..		vi ^d
Edm̄nd Tomlynson t3 t'. lib. r		xii ^d
Idm̄ t3 tres rodas tře ř.....		iiii ^d
Heř Joh̄s Wylkynson t3 j clauf ř.		vi ^d

Claghton.¹

W ill ^m Wulfoo t3 t'. vocat' Westhend ř. vi gall ⁹	xx ^s	
Nycol. Crofte t3 t'. ř. vi gall ⁹	xv ^s	
Henř Tomlynson t3 j clauf ř.		xviii ^d

¹ This parish, the smallest in the county, is seven miles north-east from Lancaster, and is to be distinguished from Cloughton, a township in Garstang parish.

In February, 1272, the Abbey of Cockersand obtained the whole advowson of the rectory of Cloughton from the Crofts, having already a moiety of the same. The Abbey had however lost or ceded their right before 1428 when Nicholas Croft Esq. of Dalton presented to the living.

On the 1st October, 1445, the Archdeacon of Richmond issued a commission to Nicholas Kene his official to inquire as to the vacancy of the Church of Claghton and the legal right of admittance of Sir John Prymett, presbyter, presented by Nicholas Croft Esq.—*Reg. Kemp Archd. Richm.*

On the 20th January, 1456-7, Dom. Oliver Bland pb' was presented to the

Lib' Tent' Rbm.

Heř Thome Twyssylton m ^o in tenuř Edwardi	
Crofte lib. ř.	xii ^d
Edouard ⁱ Pston t ₃ t'. lib. ř.....	vi ^d
Heř Johňs Tylson t ₃ t'. lib. ř.	ii ^d

Sm^a totalis ^{xx}ix^{li} xviii^{li} xviii^s ii^d ob. q.

rectory of Claghton by Sir Thomas Haryngton Knt. and Edmund Suthworth capell. on the death of Sir John Prymett, and a mandate issued to Mr. Giles Redman bachelor of decrees, rector of Bentham, to induct him. — *Reg. Lau. Bothe, licentiate in laws, Archd. Richm.*

On the 5th May, 1450, the Abbot of Cokersand issued his commission to Archdeacon William Gray, professor of theology, to receive the vow of chastity of Ellen, relict of Nicholas Croft Esq. — *Reg. Gray Archd. Richm.*

31st January, 1473-4, a certificate for a commission of inquiry *de jure Patronatús* of Claghton was issued to Mr. G. Redmayne; and on the 11th February the commissioners met in the Church of Claghton, being Robert Hartington vicar of Dalton in Fornes, Richard Garth vicar of Bolton, Fr. John Coventre vicar of Melling; Dom. John de Gyrsyngham, William Croft and Thomas Bland, chaplains; Henry Crofft, William Ambros, Edmund Crofft, Thomas Crofft, Wm. Pymond and Geo. Waller, laymen. It appeared that the rectory had been vacant by the death of Oliver Bland from the feast of St. Anthony last past, and that Sir James Haryngton Knt. ought to present, and that his father Sir Thomas Haryngton Knt. and Edmund Southworth vicar of Bolton were the last patrons. The living was taxed at four marks, and worth xviii marks a year.

On the 16th February, 1473, another inquisition was made on behalf of Robert Alanson pb^r and depositions taken in the Church of Whyttington before John Gibson rector of Thornton, Roger Lucas vicar of Kendal, Richard Redeman and Thomas Strykland Kts.; Tho. Myddilton, Thos. Preston, Rich. Redemayne and Reginald Ward Esqrs.; Oliver Middilton, Wm. Gibson, Rd. Newton, Alex. Marcer, Tho. Ward, James Croft, Wm. Lambard, Wm. Middilton and Nicholas Lambard Gentn.

It appeared that Mabella, late relict of Peter Legh Esq. and Robert Middilton of Dalton Esq. were the true patrons as heirs of Nicholas Croft Esq., and that Sir Thomas Haryngton Knt. and Sir Edm. Southworth priest presented the last rector, by purchase from William Croft Esq. lord of the manor, *pro hac vice* only. Alanson was accordingly instituted. — *Reg. Shirwood S.T.P. Archd. Richmond.* — From the "Richmond Registers" in the possession of Rev. James Raine M.A.

Tatham.¹

Her Johis Dac̃ m^o in tenũ Edwardi Stanley
milit' lib. ř.....

vi^dWenngton.²

Prior de Horneby t₃ čtam třam i Wenngton ř.
Heř Johis Warton t₃ ix acř tře ibm ř.....

iiii^siiii^sBentam.³

Dohň Mydleton t₃ t'. vocat' Ketylyddyng ř. ...
Vx. Rořti Ynglysch t₃ t'. in Stayngate ř.....
Rořt⁹ Dowebyggynn t₃ j acř tře i Bygbergh vocat'
P'st acř ř.

vi^diiii^dii^d

Vx. Georg Thorneton t₃ t'. vocat' Langhaw ř.

vi^sviii^dBurton,⁴ Lek 't Berbrne.

Vx. Xřofi Lawpage t₃ j burgař in Burton quond
ř. xii^d m^o

vi^d

¹ The Dacres were the feudal proprietors of Tatham, ten miles north-east from Lancaster, and Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Thomas Dacre, married Sir Thomas Harington of Hornby Castle and died 1484-5, since which time this manor has passed with the castle.

² Wennington is a township in Melling parish, twelve miles north-east from Lancaster. Hornby was a præmonstratensian cell there, belonging to Croxton Keyrial in Leicestershire, and dedicated to St. Wilfrid. It fell with the lesser houses.

³ Bentham, the Benetain of Domesday, is in the deanery of Lonsdale and county of York.—Bawdwen's *Domesday Book*, p. 42. See Whitaker's *Richm.* vol. ii. p. 342.

⁴ Burton is in the deanery of Lonsdale and archdeaconry of Richmond.—See Whitaker's *Richm.* vol. ii. p. 353. Lek is in the parish of Tunstall, seventeen miles north-east from Lancaster, and at its extremity is the county stone marking Lancashire, Yorkshire and Westmoreland. Barbon, as it is now spelt, is in the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale, and occurs in the Domesday Survey as Berebrune.—Nicolson and Burn, vol. i. p. 251.

Abbas de Croxton ¹ t ₃ t'. in Lek ř.	iiii ^s
Oliu fayrethwayte t ₃ t'. lib. ř.	vi ^d
Johñ Owtway t ₃ j toftū ʔ iii acř tře i Berbrunne ř. .	iii ^s

Whittington.²

W ohñ Banys t ₃ iii acř tře ř.	xii ^d
Idm̃ Johñ t ₃ ij teñ lib. ř.	ii ^s
Vx. Milonis Bell t ₃ c̃tas pcell tře de Seloth ř..	xii ^d
Vx. Thome Banys t ₃ iii acř sub Burtōtrebrek m ^o i tenura ibid. ř.....	xii ^d
Math Newton t ₃ tře ʔ ptñ vocat' Rughtwayt ř.....	vi ^d

Byggyñg³ ʔ Tenylshede.

L eonard P̃ston t ₃ v acř tře et dī vocat' lamys- crofte ř.	xii ^d
Idm̃ Leonard t ₃ j toftū i Newbyggyñgs j acř ʔ j rod tře ř.	xii ^d
Idm̃ Leonard t ₃ iii acř tře ʔ dī in Tenylshede ř.....	ii ^s

Farleton.⁴

R og Bakhowse t ₃ t'. ř.....	iiii ^s
Teñt de ffarleton tenēt xiiii acř tře vocat' Anū ř.....	ii ^s

¹ Co. Leicester. See p. 24, note 2 ante.

² Whittington is a parish in the hundred of Lonsdale, co. Lancaster, two miles from Kirkby Lonsdale. A long race of gentlemen of the name of Baynes resided at Sellet Hall in Whittington (*Lucas' MS.*, quoted by Baines) several of whose wills, proved at York, are amongst the *Lanc. MSS.* They were mean (*moyen*) gentry.

³ Newbiggin, a hamlet in the parish of Aldingham, north of the Sands, six miles from Ulverstone.

⁴ Farleton, a township and manor in the parish of Melling, eight miles north-east from Lancaster, formerly having its castle and park, was parcel of the possessions of

Manshargh.¹

R ic. Redmayne t ₃ t _{ram} nrām in Manshargh ř...	ii ^s
Heř Wiffi Nycolson t ₃ t'. apud Holdtown m ^o in tenuř Edwardi Moř ř.	xii ^d
Heř Wiffi Hardy t ₃ t'. m ^o in tenuř Hugonis Bank lib. ř.	xii ^d
Heř Johīs Redmayne t ₃ iii acř tře ř.	iii ^d
Ric. Manshargh t ₃ lib. ř.	iiii ^d
Idm Ric. t ₃ t'. ibm lib. ř.	vi ^d
Idm Ric. t ₃ t'. lib. ř.....	iiii ^d
Idm Ric. t ₃ t'. lib. r.....	ii ^d
Heř Rošt Burton t ₃ t'. lib. m ^o in tenuř Raulyn Holme ř.....	xii ^d
Thomas Mydleton t ₃ t'. vocat' Hesylryg ř.....	iii ^s ii ^d

Bethū² et Clerkthrope.

R ylbt Dyconson t ₃ t'. in Bethū ř.	iii ^s
Vx. Thome Ricson t ₃ j t'. vocat' Wodhowse ř.	iii ^s

Preston.³

M ill“m Bakhowse t ₃ t'. in P ^o ston ř.	viii ^s
Vx. Wiffi Batemā t ₃ iii acř tře t di p ^o ti ř. ...	xii ^s

the Haringtons of Hornby, and shared the fate of that house after the Battle of Bosworth; and by a singular coincidence Farleton, a township and manor in the parish of Beetham in Westmoreland, also belonged to the Haringtons, and being forfeited, were granted by Henry VII. to Sir Edward Stanley, afterwards Lord Montague K.G.

¹ Mansergh is a manor in the parish of Kirkby Lonsdale, long held by the Manserghs and afterwards by the Rigmadens and Wards. — Nicolson and Burn, vol. i. p. 252.

² Beetham, a parish and manor in Westmoreland of the Richmond fee.

³ Preston Patrick in the parish and manor of Burton, in the deanery of Kendal,

Johñ Penyngtō [et] thom^{as} lamplaw milit' teñt molend
aquatiċ de þstō m^o in tenuř Ric. þston ř... xiii^s iiid^d

Colparthwayte 't Whynfell.¹

Ric. Bek	}	teñt totā Colparthwayte ř....	iiii ^{li}
Will ^m Dyconson			
Vx. Ric. Robynson			
Vx. Henriċ Helme t ₃ t'. vocat' Newhowse cū ptinēt ř.			vi ^s viii ^d
Idm̃ vx. t ₃ t'. vocat' Herthstede de Symcrofte ř...			v ^s
Vx. Ric. Helme t ₃ t'. in Whynfell ř. p Roland filius ei ⁹ post surrend' meis			v ^s
Vx. Edm̃ndi Waryn t ₃ t'. ibm̃ ř.			v ^s

Whynmandyrmer² et Lyndeth.³

 obt Suard t ₃ t'. ibm̃ ř.	vi ^s
Johēs Suard t ₃ t'. ibm̃ ř.	iiii ^s
Georg̃ Suard t ₃ t'. ibm̃ ř.	iiii ^s
Will ^m Galyghtly 't Thomas Berwyke teñt t'. ř.. ...	iiii ^s
Will ^m Byrkhede t ₃ t'. ř.....	iii ^s
Nicol. Brokbanke t ₃ t'. ř.....	iiii ^s
Galfridus Grene t ₃ t'. ř.....	vi ^s
Will ^m frier de M. Lyndeth ⁴ t ₃ teñt ř.	ij ^s

co. Westmoreland, bounded on the south by Warton in Lancashire, and on the west by Beetham.

¹ Whinell, a manor in the parish of Kendal, co. Westmoreland, and to be distinguished from a similar place in Cumberland.

² Windermere, celebrated for its lake and exquisite scenery, is now a distinct parish, having Bowness for its capital, although at an early period it was parcel of the parish of Kendal.

³ Lindeth, named Lyndhede in a charter of Walter de Lyndesay circa 31 Hen. III., is a hamlet united to Warton in Lancashire as a township, although the two places are disjoined by Quicksand Pool. — Baines, vol. iv. p. 580.

⁴ Qu. William, a friar of the Monastery of Cokersand, living at Lyndeth.

Spgysslopk.¹

E dmd Chambur ř.	vii ^s	
Vx. Egidii Syll t ₃ t'. lib. ř.		xvi ^d

Seddergh² et Blande.

A leř ffedyrstanhaw t ₃ t'. vocat' Stonhall ř.	iii ^s	
Thomas Haryson Hatkynson t ₃ t'. lib.		vi ^d
John Ricson Hatkynson t ₃ t'. lib. ř.	ij ^s	
Edward Mydleton t ₃ t'. vocat' Hynying lib. ř.		xii ^d
Heř Jacobi Baynebryg t ₃ t'. in Bland lib. ř.		xviii ^d

Ebor.

E om ³ Sċi Leonardi t ₃ t'. in Stayngate ř.	ix ^s	vi ^d
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Bankhowses cū aliis que remanēt in
manu dñi.

E mia tenemēt inf ^a Bankhowses ř.	xvi ^s	x ^d
Emmota Burton inf ^a Bankhowses ř. ³		
Vx. Wiłi Makand t ₃ molend vent' de Haghton ⁴ ř... ..	xx ^s	
Laurenč Page t ₃ třam quōda Roęi Edylston ř.	iii ^s	iiii ^d
Vx. Huę Wylkynson t ₃ molend vent' de Hayholme ř.	ii ^s	
Henř Raby t ₃ Teneacř in Catēall ⁵ ř.	ii ^s	

¹ Sedgwick, a small township three-and-a-half miles south of Kendal, but in the parish of Heversham.

² Sedbergh, co. York, in the deanery of Lonsdale and Archdeaconry of Richmond.

³ This line scored through.

⁴ Probably Haighton, a township in the parish of Preston in Amounderness, and four miles north-north-east from the town.

⁵ Probably Titheacre in Catterall, in the parish of Garstang, where the Monks, who were the manerial lords, left a chapel, but in the present day—

Ric. Jenkynson t ₃ molend vent' de Mydleton ¹ ř.....	xxvi ^s viii ^d
Petrus Dyconson t ₃ molend vent' sup Cūlaw hyll ř...	xxvi ^s viii ^d
Rog ² Dugdale t ₃ t'. ř. p annū.....	iii ^s iii ^d

Bankhowseys.

 x. Ric. gudale t ₃ t'. in Bankhowse ř. p annū ...	
Vx. Henrič Lee t ₃ t'. ř. p annū	
Laurenč Clerkson t ₃ t'. ř. p annū	
Johēs Caryngton t ₃ t'. ř. p annū	ii ^s vi ^d
Ric. Lordson t ₃ t'. ř. p annū	
Vx. Johīs Xpofurson t ₃ t'. ř. p annū.....	
Emmota Burton t ₃ t'. ř. p annū.....	ii ^s
Thome Jackett t'. t'. ř. p annū	ii ^s vi ^d
M ^d yat Annes Schepte hasse payn to James y ^e Abbott of Cokersand for her lyuing — ii ^s ii ^d to me ƥ vi ^s viii ^d to y ^e Cōvent. ²	

"Ask you what lands our Parson tithes? Alas!
But few our acres and but short our grass.

* * * *

And these, our hilly heath and common wide,
Yield a slight portion for the parish guide.

* * * *

Much is is the duty — small the legal due."

* * * *

Crabbe's *Borough*.

¹ Middleton is a small manor and township in the parish of Lancaster, and the windmill would not be more than half a mile from the Abbey.

² There can be little doubt that the following licence from Smith, bishop of Lichfield, "ad includendam Anachoritem," in a cell near the little chapel of Pilling in the parish of Garstang, refers to this devout nun. Why she abandoned Norton Priory for Pilling Chapel will perhaps never be known; but it may be conjectured that it was with the hope of attaining higher degrees of sanctity than she found to be within her reach amongst the sisterhood of Norton. The Canons of Cokersand had large possessions in Garstang, and apparently some small religious body not altogether dependent upon them for support; and this anchoret there

"In woeful accents, wan despair,
 Low sullen sounds her grief beguil'd;
 A solemn strain and mingled air —
 'Twas sad by fits, by starts 'twas wild."

Collins.

Willelmus, permissione divina Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis Episcopus, dilectis in Christo confratribus domino Abbati B. M. V. de Cokersand et ejusdem loci Conventui salutem fraternam, in Domino charitatem. Cum religiosa mulier, dompna Agnetæ Bothe alias Schepard, monialis domus sive prioratus Beatæ Mariæ de Norton, piæ devotionis zelo accensa, magnopere desiderat ab hominum conversacione, specialiterque labentis sæculi oblectationibus separari, ac vitam solitariam apud capellam de Pyllng in parochia de Garestang, nostræ diocesis, ducere, ibidemque includi, ut Altissimo sedulum ac devotum impendere valeat famulatum; in quo quidem tam felici suo proposito firmâ mentis integritate immutabilis diu perseveravit, quemadmodum in presenti perseverat. Nos vero, laudabile ipsius propositum monialis commendantes, speramus quod mora prænominata dompnæ Agnetæ ibidem non solum Summo Deo placuerit nostro, verum etiam animæ ipsius non parum meriti allocaverit. Igitur ad includendum eandem dompnam Agnetam Bothe alias Schepard in domibus ad hoc ibidem assignatis, cæteraque omnia et singula faciendum, examinandum, et expediendum, quæ in talibus fieri de jure seu consuetudine laudabile consueverunt vestræ fraternitati injungimus, et reddat certiores, authenticatio sub sigillo hujusmodi literis nostris annexa. Datum in manerio nostro de Beaudesert, nostro sub sigillo, vigesimo die mensis Novembris anno Domini millesimo quadragentesimo nonagesimo tertio, nostræ vero consecrationis anno secundo.

Dugdale, on the authority of a charter printed by him from the original in the possession of Robert Dalton of Thurnham Esq. (who ob. 1704), says that "there appears to have been an Abbey of the Præmonstratensian Order, which, some years after the foundation of Cokersand, Theobald, brother of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, built or *designed to build* at Pyling." — *Monast. Ang.* vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 906. It may be safely stated that no such Abbey was ever built at Pilling. No references to it are known to exist, neither are there any remains of buildings, nor any traditions connected with it. It was a rule with these canons, for misogyny was no part of their system, that wherever they founded a Monastery for monks they should raise another for nuns of the same order, which may have had some connection with the anchoret's "huts" at Pilling. The female houses of *Pre Montre*, owing to abuses, were suppressed in France in the thirteenth century, but not in England. The French monks, not with their usual gallantry, declared in 1273 "that the women were worse than the most venomous Aspicks and Dragons, and that there was no malice comparable to theirs; and the monks thenceforward resolved not to look upon them but as upon so many mischievous beasts." — *Hist. of the Monastic Orders* by Gabriel D'Emillianne, p. 132, 12mo. 1693. I am informed by the Rev. J. D. Banister, incumbent of Pilling, that the tradition of the place is that there was at an early period a cell there belonging

to Cokersand, and that at a later date a small chapel, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, was built adjoining the Grange for the use of their nativi and labourers, and supplied periodically by a monk from the Abbey. If the original chapel was, as it is supposed to have been, part of the old Grange, it was probably in existence in the early part of the thirteenth century, as in the year 1217 Pope Honorius granted the canons of Cokersand a remarkable privilege for the quiet and seclusion of their Granges. These buildings were declared to be equal to churches for sanctity, and in which, for the convenience of the residents, Oratories were allowed to be erected. — *Hist. Richm.* vol. ii. p. 335. As this fabric was dilapidated, and a petition presented for its reparation in the latter part of the reign of Henry VII. it had been an early foundation, and is described by Bishop Gastrell as being "very ancient." It was situated near the Manor House, being about three miles east from the Abbey, and was taken down in the year 1720–J, when the present chapel was built beyond "the Parson's Pool," a mile distant from the former site. — See Gastrell's *Notitia Cestr.* vol. ii. pt. iii. p. 413.

The *Memorandum* at the foot of the Roll has been made in another hand.

Appendix.

I. — *Warinus de Lancast^r don. di. fforton Aldred fil.*

Hugonis. r. p. an. iii^s.¹

S CIANT tā p^sentes q^m fut^ui qd ego Warinus de loncast^r dedi
 ⁊ concessi p homagio suo Aldredo filio hamonis ⁊ hēdib; suis
 in feodo ⁊ hēditate dimidiū ffortun tenendū de me ⁊ heredib; meis,
 libe ⁊ quiete in bosco ⁊ in plano ⁊ in oib; libtatib; q̄ ptinēt ad
 illā tenurā. reddendo. iii sol. annuatī p oī seruicio excepto forinseco
 ad paschā xviii d̄ ad festū S̄ci Michael^s xviii d̄. Salua libtate dñi
 Warini de spervariis suis.....inventi fuerūt in bosco suo, ⁊ p
 hac 9cessiōe dedit pñiat⁹ Aldred⁹ pdicto dño suo Warino ij marc̄
 ⁊ dim. Hiis testib; Adā dcano d' Loncast^r. Henrico d' Loncast^r.

¹ These deeds have been placed in my hands by Mr. Whitehead of Forton Hall, and possess sufficient interest to merit printing. They refer to the manor and ancient grants within the manor of Forton, of which some account will be found on page 17; but in note 1, line 1, for "in which" read "near which," as the site of the Abbey is in the parish of Lancaster, although generally reputed to be extra-parochial and subjected to no parish rates except the constable tax. The first deed may be referred to the early part of the reign of Henry II., and the grant was made before the foundation of the Abbey of Cokersand, which afterwards gradually absorbed the whole manor of Forton. Warin de Lancaster was a cadet of the first dynasty of Lancasters Barons of Kendal, and a lineal descendant of Ivo Talbois Earl of Anjou and Baron of Kendal at the Norman Conquest. Henry the son of Warin (the grantor in the next abstracted deed) had a grant 1 John, and a confirmation 7 John, of lands in North Lancashire. In the *Testa de Nevill* it is found that Warinus pater ejus (Henr. de Lea) dedit inde Abbati de Cokersand quartam partam unius bouate in elemosyna.—*Whalley Coucher Book*, vol. ii. p. 497, note.

Robto chico d' Tideswelle. Rič chico de Pultun. Philippo capellano. Rič filio Augustini. Tōma de Le. Jordano filio Ranulfi. Rogo de Loncast^r. Vctredo d' Le ⁊ multis aliis.

II. — *fforton. Henr. de Lancast^r 1 j ac. et j p'cat' do^t.*

SCIANT oīs tā p'sentes q^m fut^ui qd ego Henric de Loncastria dedi ⁊ 9cessi ⁊ p'senti carta 9firmaui deo ⁊ beate Marie de Cokēsand ⁊ frību; ibidē deo seruicētib; unā acrā ⁊ unā pcatā t're mee i fortū. s. i boschoz theyt, i australi parte cū cōmuniōne ⁊ aisyamētis p'dicte uille ptinētib; ad qūtitatē tātē t're cū pastura duodecī aīmalib; ⁊ t'ib; eq'b; ⁊ uiginti capris ⁊ decē ⁊ sex porcis i pañagio qetis² i bosco de fortū i purā ⁊ ppetuā ⁊ libam elemosinā. libē ⁊ qete ab ōi seculari seruicio ⁊ exaccione. Pro salute aīe mee paīs ⁊ maīs mee ⁊ spōse mee ⁊ antecessoz ⁊ successoz meoz. Hanc donacione ego H'ric ⁊ hēdes mei Warantizabim⁹ p'dictis frīb; 9^a oīs hoīes ⁊ feminas i ppetm. His testib; Willo pīerna. Waltō filio osbti. Waltō filio Svani. Waltō de Wineq̄c. Ricardo filio Huctredi. Robto filio osbti. Rogo cementario ⁊ aliis.

III. — *fforton^a. Ad. de lee³ relax' don' Aldred de fforton diu'sar' t're.*

SCIANT oīs tam p'sentes q^m fut^ui ego Adam de lee concessi ⁊ p'senti carta confirmaui deo ⁊ bē Marie de Coksand ⁊ frībus

¹ Henry, son of Warin de Lancaster, vix. 1199. See his grant to William Blundel in *Whalley Coucher Book* (vol. ii. p. 497). Warin de Lancaster gave the manor of Garstang and the advowson of the church of St. Helen to the Abbey of Cokersand.—*Dugdale*.

² quietis, free.

³ Adam de Lea was a member of the great house of Lancaster, Warin de Lancaster being expressly called the father of Henry de Lea, who had two sons, John and Richard.—See *Testa de Nevill*; *Whalley Coucher Book*, vol. ii. p. 491.

ibidem d'o seruientib; oñs donaciones q's aldrerus de fortuna eis dedit in elemosina infra diuisis de fortuna. Silicet. q̃tuor acras t're in Slathehouet cum mesuagio. ⁊ unā ac'm in Gafsuinescinkel, ⁊ q^uadam porcionē t're q'm Radulfus fit Alani de eis tenet cum cōmuniōne ⁊ oñib; aesiamentis ⁊ libtatib; sicuti carte Aldredi testant̃. In puram ⁊ ppetuam ⁊ libam elemosinam libe ⁊ q̃ete ab om̃ s̃clari seruicio ⁊ exaccione. Pro salute anime mee ⁊ patris mei ⁊ matris mee ⁊ oñium antecessorum ⁊ successorum meorum. Hiis testib; henrico de Rodeman. Rogo de burtun. pa'cio de berewic. Rogo g'net. Robto persona de gairstāg. Wiffo fit eius.¹ paulino de gairstang. Robto de lancast'ia ⁊ aliis.

IV. — *fforton. Ric. fil. huani de fforton' do^t di. acre.*

SCIANT p'sentes ⁊ futuri. Quod ego Ricardus fit Huani de ffortoñ dedi concessi ⁊ hac p'senti carta mea confirmaui ⁊ quietclamaui deo ⁊ beate Marie de Cokersand ⁊ Abbi ⁊ Canonicis ibidē deo ūientib; vnā dimidiā acram terre mee quam de eis tenui in uilla de ffortoñ. Scilic̃z ppinqui⁹ terre eor̃dem. Tenend ⁊ habendam sibi ⁊ successorib; suis inppetuū cū oñib; libtatib; ⁊ p̃tinenciis suis sine aliq^o retenemento. Ita qd ego aut heredes mei nichil iuris u'l clamui in pd̃ca t'ra dece'to exi'ge u'l uendicare potim⁹. P. hac autē mea donacione ⁊ quietaclamancia dederūt mⁱ in mea necessitate unā dimidiā marcā argenti. Et ego ⁊ heredes mei memoratā t'ram cum oñib; suis p̃tinenciis pd̃cis Canonicis ⁊ eoz successorib; inppm cont^a oñs gentes Warantizabim; defen-

¹ The Canons of Cokersand were not so entirely secluded as to be bound to a life of solitude and perpetual confinement. They held benefices and migrated from time to time as they obtained parochial cures, and at this time were married men, as Robert, Parson of Gairstang, and William his son, are here found as attesting witnesses. Garstang and Mitton were held by Canons of the house century after century. — See *MS. Notes* from Archdeaconry of Richmond, *Lanc. MSS.*; also Whitaker's *Craven*, p. 21 (Mitton), and Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. iv. (Garstang).

dem⁹ ⁊ adquietabim⁹. Testantib; Galfrido de Hacunshou. Johe de Winmlege. Rað de Natebi. Johe fil Laurenc. Johe fil Thome. Aleř de fforton ⁊ aliis.

Device on the seal, a fleur-de-lis. Legend, "S' Ric. fil. Hvwan."

V. — *Ranulph. de fforton do^a di. acre.*

SCIANT p̃sentes et futuri quod ego Ranulphus de fforton filius Robti dedi concessi remisi et p̃sentes s̃c̃pti testimonio quiet-clamaui Deo et beate Marie de Cokersand et Abb̃i et Canonicis ibidem Do ſuientib; unam dimidiam acram t̃re arabilis in uilla de fforton q̃m de eis tenui cū oñib; p̃tinēciis suis sine aliquo retene-mento. Illam videlič; qua iacet in aquilonali pte t̃re d̃coz Abb̃is et Conuent⁹ q̃m hūnt de Wiffo de Loweberth continue iux^a t̃ram meam. Ita videlicet qd nec ego n^c aliquis heredum meoz aliquid juris u'l clamū in p̃d̃ca t̃ra deceſo uendicare u'l habē poſim⁹. P hac autem mea quietaclamancia et remissione dederūt mī p̃d̃ci Abbas et Conuent⁹ dimidiā marci argenti. Et ego et heredes mei memoratā t̃ram cū suis p̃tinenciis d̃cis Abb̃i et Conuentui et eoꝝ succes-sorib; contr^a oñes gentes warantizabim; et defendem⁹. In cui⁹ rei testimoniū p̃senti s̃c̃pto sigillū meū p me et heðb; meis apposui. Testantib; Johe de Winmlege. Rað de Nateby. Wiffo de Nateby. Johe fil Laurenc de fforton. Aleř de eadem. Johe fil Thome de inf'mitorio. Gilbo forestario ſuiente et aliis.

VI. — *fforton. Quiet' clam' Thome de Infirmitorio.*

SCIANT p̃sentes ⁊ futuri quod ego Thomas de Infirmitorio concessi remisi ⁊ oīa testimonio p̃sentis s̃c̃pti quiet-clamaui Deo ⁊ beate Marie de Cokersand ⁊ Abb̃i et Canonicis ibidē do ſuientib; totam t̃ram in villa de fforton q̃m de iis tenui p annuū

sēuiciū quatuor denarioꝝ cum om̃ibꝫ ptinenciis suis sine aliquo retenemento de me ⁊ heredibꝫ meis inppetū. Ita qđ nec ego n̄ aliq̃s hēdum meoꝝ seu assignatoꝝ aliquid juꝛ u'l clamū in pđca ũra cum suis ptinenciis exige habere uel vendicare decoꝛo potimꝰ. Et quia uolo qđ hec mea quietaclamancia rata ⁊ stabilit inppetuū p̃senti sc̃pto sigillum meū p me ⁊ heredibꝫ meis apposui. Hiis testibꝫ Dno Ad de Holand. Dno Rogo de Cokersand psona de Clacton. Johe fit Thome de fforton. Aleḡ de fforton. Johe fit Laurent. Johe fit Loucasii. Robo fit Thom. Ričo fit Huani. Henḡ fit Jurđ. Rogo Redalbot ⁊ aliis.

✠ Sigill. Thome.

VII. — *fforton. Will. de Nateby do. j acre.*

SCIANT p̃sentes ⁊ fut̃i qđ ego Wilt de Nateby fit Alani de Vado dedi concessi ⁊ hoc p̃senti sc̃pto quietclamaui p me ⁊ hēdibꝫ meis dō ⁊ beate Mari de Cokersand ⁊ Abbi ⁊ Canonicis ibidem dō ūientibꝫ vnā acram ũre in fforton iacentē in Goscopethuart in ũra Prioris ⁊ Canonicoꝝ de Cokerham¹ ⁊ ũra Quenilde

¹ This deed, which refers to the land of "the Prior and Canons of Cockerham," confirms Tanner's evidence of a religious community having existed at a very early period in that place. Dugdale is silent on the subject. Cockerham so nearly adjoins Cokersand Abbey, it is almost incredible that there should have been a contemporaneous separate monastic foundation there, another at Cokersand, and a third at Lancaster; and yet Tanner names "the Abbot of Cokersand and the Prior of Cockerham" as occurring together in a deed of the year 1275; and "Henry, Prior of Cockerham," occurs as an attestor to the charter of Henry de Wyntington (see this *Rental*, p. 25 *ante*) "de Cantaria in Capella sua de Carlton," along with the Abbot of Cokersand. In the Lincoln Taxatio (20 Edward I.) occurs, in the Archdeaconry of Richmond, "custos domūs Cokyrham" xiii. — (Tanner, p. 235.) Nothing more than these references seems to be known of the foundation of a Priory at Cockerham, which could only have had a brief existence. The manor and advowson belonged to the Abbey of St. Mary of Leicester. In favour of a religious house at Cockerham, it may be stated that Cokersand Abbey at an early period of its existence, bounded on the east by a spongy morass, would be found difficult of access from Cockerham. At

vidue. Hñd̃ ⁊ tenendā d̃cis Canonicis ⁊ eoꝝ successoribꝫ impetuū cū oñibꝫ lib̃tatibꝫ ⁊ aliis p̃tineñciis suis. In lib̃am purā ⁊ p̃petuā elemosinam. Ita qđ n̄ ego n̄ aliq̃s hēdum meorū aliquid de p̃d̃ca ũra nisi orationes exiġe uel uendicare noleam⁹. Et ego Wilt ⁊ hēdes mei p̃d̃cam ũram cū oñibꝫ suis p̃tineñt d̃cis Abb̃i ⁊ Conuentui ⁊ eoꝝ successoribꝫ coñt oñs gentes inppm Warantizabim⁹ defendem⁹ ⁊ adquietabim⁹. In hui⁹ rei testimoniū p̃senti s̃c̃pto sigillū meū p̃ me ⁊ hēdibꝫ meis apposui. Hiis testibꝫ Heñ de Haidoc, Johe de Winñlege, Rađ de Nateby, Johe cissore, Johe de fforton, Rođto fīt Thom̃ de ead̃ ⁊ aliis.

Seal; Device, a Catharine wheel. ✠ “Sigill̃.....Fil. Alani de Pvre.”

VIII. — *fforton. Donat. Joh'is de Slathwaiteued.*

SCIANT omnes tam presentes q̃m futuri quod ego Johes de Slathwaiteued dedi et concessi et hac p̃senti carta mea confirmavi deo et beate Marie de Cokersand et Abb̃i et Canonicis ibidem deo ũuientibus p̃ salute anime mee et p̃ salute animaz antecessoꝝ et suc̃coꝝ meoꝝ totam ũram q̃m Tomasius filius Johis de Erthouit tenuit de me in Slathwaiteued sine aliquo retenemento. Cum com̃una et oñibꝫ aliis lib̃tatibꝫ et aisiam̃tis ville de fforton tante ũre p̃tinentibꝫ. In lib̃am puram et p̃petuam elemosinam. Ita quod nec ego nec aliquis hēdum meoꝝ de iam d̃ca ũra cum suis p̃tineñciis aliquid decetero exiġe poŃimus p̃t̃ elemosinas et orationum suffragia. Hanc autē ũram cū suis p̃tineñciis ego iam d̃cus Johes et hēdes mei p̃d̃cis Abb̃i et Canonicis et eoꝝ successoribꝫ contra oēs homines et feminas Warantizabim⁹ adquietabim⁹

some seasons the roads, such as they were, would be choked up by the falling in of their soft and oozy sides, and be impassable. At such times provisions and necessities for the inmates of the Abbey would be conveyed by boats directly from Lancaster.

et defendem⁹ inppetuū. In cui⁹ rei testimoniū presenti scripto sigillū meū p me et hēdibz meis apposui. Hiis testibz Hugōe de Mittoñ. Roḃto de Wedakr. Roḡo Briscelance. Wiſſo de Ecclistoñ. Adā de Birkstad. Thoma de fforton. Alano de eadem. Henř fit Wiſſi de fforton. Henř fit Jordani de fforton. Stephano de Stamheued et aliis.

IX. — *A Grante of Pannage in Forton^a Woodd by the Lords.*

SCIANT omnes tam pſentes quam futuri qđ ego Herwardus dei grā Abbas de Kokersand t eiusdem loci 9uentus dedimus t concessimus t hac pſenta carta nostra confirmauim⁹ Ricardo filio Alexandri de fortton u'l atornatis suis viginti porcos singulis annis quietos de pannagio in bosco de fortoñ exceptis et saluis noḃ dñcis boscis noſts videlicet Snithelesheued t Eschoueleyehurst t Scamwachliche t Scamwachliche-torches tenendū t habendū de noḃ t successoribz noſtr sibi t atornatis suis hereditarie inperpetuum. Predicť vero Ricard t atornatis sui de fortton nō plures qm predictos viginti porcos in dco bosco de fortton racione tre sue qm tenet in eadem villa de cetero habē u'l uendicare debebñt. Hos v^o t successores nři pdicto Ričo t suis atornatis pdcam donacionē 9t^a oñes hoies warantizabim⁹ ĩppetuū. In hui⁹ rei testimoniū pſenti sc̃pto sigillū nřm apposui⁹. Hiis testibz helya pinčna Thoma t Gregorio de Wiñleye. Roḃto de fforton. Rič clico de ead villa t aliis.

The impression of the Convent seal, of green wax, is unfortunately broken off from the top. The device is a hand grasping a pastoral staff. On the field is, apparently, a *lily* branching from the base; or it may be the *typha latifolia*, or broad-leafed reed mace, which is plentiful in the neighbourhood of the Abbey. ✠ ".....ABBIS ET CÖVENT DE Co... .." There is a drawing of the same seal affixed to a grant from "Fr. Henr. dei gratia

Dom. Abbat. de Cok'sand et humilis eidem loci Conventus," of lands in Vrwilham, near Eccles, to Galfrid de Hurwilham; s.d. in *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxv. p. 192.

X. — *fforton. Thom's de licbret do^a vj^d de jurdano fil. henr. fil. xpiane.*

S CIANT oñes tam p'sentes quam futuri quod ego Thomas de Lickebert dedi ⁊ ꝛcessi ⁊ hac p'senti carta mea ꝛfirmaui Deo ⁊ beate Marie de Cok'sand ⁊ Abbi ⁊ ꝛuentui ibidē deo ꝛuiuentibꝫ redditū sex denariorū in villa de ffortoñ annuatim ad duos ꝛis ꝛcipiendū videlt ad Pasche iii denarios ⁊ ad festū S̄ci Michael tres denarios. Quem quid redditū ꝛcipe solebam de firma cuiusd̄ hoīs mei in pd̄ca uilla de ffortoñ videlt de Jurdano fīt Henr fīt Xpiane ⁊ de eius heredibꝫ. P. salute anime mee ⁊ antecessorū ⁊ successorū meorū in liberam puram ⁊ ꝛpetuam elemosinā. Ita ut n̄ ego n̄ aliquis heredū meorū de pd̄co redditu de ceŕo aliquid exiḡe ꝛotm̄us ꝛter elemosinas ⁊ oñonū suffragia. Et qđ volo ut hec mea donacio ⁊ carte mee ꝛfirmacio in posterū robur obtineat firmitatis huic s̄c̄pto sigillū meū ꝛ me ⁊ heredibꝫ meis apposui. Hīs testibꝫ Henr de Haydoc. Teruagio clico de Excliue. Johe de Excliue. Alano de Kathertoñ. Joh de Griseheued. Ričo de Slene ⁊ aliis.

XI. — *fforton. Ada fil. Swain de Kayballes donat. vii acr. in Bagehurst.*

S CIANT oēs tam p'sentes qm̄ futuri quod ego Ada fīt Suani de Kayballes dedi et cōcessi et h̄c p'senti carta mea cōfirmaui deo et beate Marie de Kok'sand et Canonicis ibidem deo seruientibꝫ qđdam porcionem ꝛtre mee in villa de ffortona, scit. septem acr̄ in Bagehurst quas tenui de Aldreth de fortuna et hēdibꝫ suis, cum

coñuni pastura et oñib; aliis esiamētis et libertatib; et liberis consuetudinib; p̄dcte ville de fortuna adiacentib;. Et cū adquietancia pannagii porcis illoꝝ hominū qui eandem terram tenuerint. In liberam puram et ppetuam elemosinam. P. salute anime mee antecessoꝝ et successoꝝ meoꝝ. Ita sane quod ego u'l aliquis heredum meoꝝ nichil in posterum de p̄dca terra exiḡe possumus preter elemosinas et oracionum suffragia. Has aū vim in Bagehurst cū p̄tinenciis ego idem dictus Ada filius Suani et hēdes mei p̄fatis Canonicis de Kok'sand et successorib; suis 9tra oñes homines et fœminas warantizabim; inppm. Et quia volo vt h' mea donacio futuris tempib; firmiſ teneat p̄sens sc̄ptū sigilli mei appone roborauī. Hiis tes̄b; Wiffo de Karltona. Joñe de Hacuneshou. Wiffo de t'nak. Riço frē ej'. Symone de fortuna et aliis.

XII. — *ffortonn. Jordanus Gosnar don. iiii acr. terr.
et unu' mes.*

SCIANT p̄sentes et futuri qd ego Jordanus de Gosenargh p salute aīe meæ dedi cōcessi et hac p̄senti carta mea confirmavi Aḃbi et conuentui de Cokyrsand et eorum successorib; vnū mesuagiū et q̄tuor acras terre cū p̄tinenciis in fforton tenend et hend p̄dci Aḃbi et Conuentui et eorū successorib; inppetuū in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam s̄b hac forma videlicet qd quilibet sac̄sta Monasterii de Cokyrsand qui p tempe fuerit accipiat et possideat totū p̄ficiū et firmam p̄dictoꝝ tenementoꝝ ad inueniend et sustinendū sc̄dm posse suū necessaria ad capellam beate Marie de Cokyrsand Monasterii p̄dci p̄tinencia et in luminarib; et ceteris hujusmodi necessariis inppetm. Sciant eciam oñes qd hec est mea mera voluntas qd n̄c p̄ficiū tenementi p̄dci n̄c firma p̄dcta nullo modo ad manū dñi Aḃbis u'l alicuius cellerarii Monasterii p̄dci seu aliquoꝝ alioꝝ canonicoꝝ pueniant s̄c totū tenementū cū p̄ficiuo et firma p̄dicta penes sacristam sicut p̄dcm est ad opus capellæ p̄dci

Monasterii penitus comorentur et ego vero dco Jordanus et heres mei pdca tenementa cu ptinenciis pdcis Abbi et Conuentui et eoz successorib; cont^a oes hoies Warantizabimus et defendemus inppm. In cuius rei testimoniū huic p̄senti carta sigillū meū apposui. Dať aȓd fforton die dominica p̄x post festū S̄ci Mathie aȓli anno dñi m^o ccc^o tricesimo tercio.

Seal—the shield charged with a lion rampant, the field diapered ; rudely cut. Legend ✠ “S’ Ricardi.....et Consortis.”

XIII. — *fforton. Robt. Corleas feoffm. to
Henr. Corleas.*

SCIANT p̄sentes 7 futuri qd ego Robtus Corlews de fforton dedi concessi 7 hac p̄senti carta mea confirmaui Henrico fit meo heredib; 7 assignatis suis oīa mesuaȓ 7ras et teñ cum ptñ̄ suis in fforton infra villam de Gayrestang que hūi ex dono Wiffi Adamson de Cokirlīm. Hēnd 7 tenend oīa pdca mesuaȓ 7ras 7 teñ cum oīib; suis ptñ; libtatib; 7 aisiamētis tantæ terræ in fforton ubiq; ptinentib; p̄cto Henrico fit meo hēdb; 7 assignatis suis de capitalib; dñis feodi illius p̄ ſuicia inde debita 7 de iure consueta inppm. Et ego vero pdcus Robtus Corlews 7 heredes mei oīa p̄cta mesuaȓ 7ras 7 teñ cum oīib; suis ptñ 7 libtatib; p̄dco Henrico filio meo hered et assign̄ suis contra oes gentes Warantizabim; 7 defendem⁹ inppm. In cuius rei testiñ huic p̄senti carte mee sigiff meū apposui. Hiis testb; Riē le Botiller de Kirkland. Thomas Rigmayden. Rogo Travers de Nateby 7 aliis. Dať aȓd fforton die dñica p̄x post fm S̄ci Martini in yeme anno regni Regis Henrici fit Regis Henr quinto.

Device on the seal, a bird. Qu. a curlew.

XIV. — *fforton. Henr. Corlews gyfft unto y^e Abbat of Cokersand.*

O MIB; xpi fidelib; ad quos psens scriptum puenit Henricus Corlews filius et heres Robti Corlews de fforton salm in domino sempitnam. Nouitis me remisisse relaxasse et omnino p me et heredb; meis imppm quietum clamasse Abbi et Conuentui de Cokersand et eoꝝ successorib; totum ius et clameu que hui heo vel aliquo modo in futuꝛ hēre pofo de vel in omib; illis mesuaꝯ tris et teñ cū ptñ; in fforton infra villam de Gairestang que dudum fuerunt Wiffi Adamson de Kokirh^m. Ita uero qd nec ego dēus Henricus Corlews nec heredes mei nec aliquis alius p nos aut nomine nro aliquid juris vel clamei de vel in pdcis mesuaꝯ tras et teñ cū ptñ; nec in aliqua pte eoꝝdem deceto exige valeam⁹ seu quouis modo vendicare sat ab omi accōe iuris et clamei de vel in eisdem cum ptñ; p psens scriptum sumus exclusi imppm. In cuius rei testimoñ huic psenti scripto quiete clamaçois sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testib; Roberto laurence Roberto de Vrs-wik militib;. Thoma de Rigmaiden. Thoma de Vrswik. Ricardo Botiller de Kirkland armigis et aliis. Dañ apud fforton primo die mensis Aprilis anno regni Regis Henrici fit Regis Henrici sexto.

XV. — *fforton. Joh'es Calfson don.*

S CIANT psentes ⁊ futuri qd ego Johes Calfeson senior dedi concessi ⁊ hac psenti carta mea confirmaui p salute aie mee ⁊ parentū meoꝝ Abbi Monasterii bē Marie de Cokersand ⁊ eiusdem loci Conuentui ⁊ eoꝝ successorib; medietatem vnus acre terræ mee cū ptñ; iacent in quodam clauso vocañ Slathuayted in fforton infra villam de Gayrstang. Hēnd ⁊ tenend pfat^o Abbi ⁊ Cōuent ⁊ successorib; suis pdetam medietatem acꝛ tre cū ptñ; in puram ⁊ ppetuam elemosinam. Et ego vero pdcus Johes ⁊

heredes mei pdict⁹ medietatem ac^r t^re cū ptiⁿ p^rfatis Abbi et Conuentui et successorib³ suis contra oēs gentes Warantizabim³ et defendem⁹ imppm. In cui⁹ rei testimoniū huic p^rsenti carte mee sigillū meū apposui. Hiis testib³ Jacobo haryngton milite. Robto haryngton Johē Rigmayden armig^ris et aliis. Dat⁹ s^cdo die januarij anno regni Regis Edwardi Quarti post conq^m septimo.

XVI. — *fforton. John Brekedannt firm lands calde
y^e ffalls.*

SCIANT p^rsentes et futuri qd ego Johes Brekedannte dedi concessi et hac p^rsenti carta mea confirmaui ac sursum reddidi Dno Abbi bte Marie de Cokersond dno meo et eiusdem loci Conuentui totam illam pcellā et clausurā terre mee in villa de fforton in com^o lan^c vocat⁹ le ffall modo in tenura Jacobo dauson Hēnd et tend⁹ totā pdictā pcell⁹ et clausurā terre cū oīb³ et sing^lis suis ptiⁿ p^rfat Abbi et Conuentui et successorib³ suis in purā et ppetuā elemosinā lib^e quiete sicut aliqua elemosinā liber⁹ et quieti⁹ dari potest se capi^t dⁿis fœdi illius p^r s^rviciis inde deb^{it} et de iure consue^t imppm. Et ego vero pd^cus Johes et hered⁹ mei totam pd^cam pcell⁹ et clausur⁹ terre cū oīb³ et sing^lis suis ptiⁿ p^rfat Abbi et Conuentui et successorib³ suis vt pd^cm est contra oīes gentes warantizabim³ et imppm defend⁹. Scia^t insup me pd^cm Johem ordinasse et constituisse et in loco meo posuisse dil^cm meū in x^po Ri^cm Jankynson meū verū ac fidelem Attorⁿ ad delib⁹and p me et in noīe meo p^rfato Abbi et Conuent⁹ plenā et pacificā possessionē et seisin de et in totā pd^cam pcellā et clausur⁹ terre cū ptiⁿ3 suis Hēnd &c. In cujus rei testim⁹ hanc p^rsentē carte mee sigillū meū apposui. Hiis testib³ Rog^o Bothe armig^o. Johē Caluard. Wiffo Migeall et multis aliis. Dat⁹ apud fforton pdict⁹ vicesimo s^cdo die ffebruarii anno regni Regis Henrici Septimi post conq^m Ang^l decimo nono.

XVII. — *A leas to Nycholas Skotson made by y^e Abbot
of Kokyrsond.*

THIS indentur made the xvth day of May the xixth yer of our soundande lorde Kynge Henrie the VIIth Wytnesyth y^t James Skypton thabbot of the monasterii of our lady of Cokersande¹ and hys conuente hayv be on assente granted vnd^r theyr common seall delyuered vnto Nicholaus Skotson of lancast^r on place in forton callede Henrie Hoghson lande hys lyue durynge And after his disses the said Abbot & Conuent hayv grauntede to on of the seide Nycholaus chylde at hys own eleccion And that Childe to occupy the seid place peasable duryng it lyve And afr y^e dethe of that chylde thabbot & Convente then to be at ther libertie to set & to let the seide place to whome it please y^m no clause of yis indentur withstanding. Morou the seide Nicholaus to enter in to the seide place after the decesse of Thomas Bakhouse now hauing entesse yⁱⁿ And so peasabl entesse had theyrin he yerly to pay for the seid place & lands ther to belongyng to the seid Abbot & Conuent xiijs^s iiij^d ou^l and besydes xvij^d free ferme vn to the seide Abbot & Conuent yerely And also y^e seid chylde to pay vn to the seide Abbot & Convent the forseide yerely rente & free ferme duryng the lyves of the seide chylde and the seide Nicholaus his childe nor nawther of y^m to make no waste of the seide place nor woddys there to belongynge bot to take be delyuance sufficiently to repayr thayr placez wh^{ch} & so suffycyently repayret so to kepe y^m & to leve y^m so at thende of there terme And all the me^{ss}es aboute rehersyd trule to be pformyd & kpyt Als wyll opon the pte of the seide Abbot & Convente as of the pte of the seide Nicholaus Wther ptie by thes indenturs byndys them to toder in xx^{li}

¹ One of his successors — *et ultimus domus* — “venerabilis vir, Robertus Powlton, Abbas de Cokkersand,” became a brother of the Corpus Christi Guild at York in 1534. — Reg. of the Guild in British Museum; *MS. Lansd.* 403, fol. 144. 6.

sterlyng. In wytnes her of We the seid Abbot & Conuent hayv
set to our cōmon seall thes Wytnese Rychard Cleuelonde deane
of Amoundnesse Rychard Nelson John Duket and James Dug-
dell w^t other moo Yevyn the day & yeȝ aboueseid.

THE NAMES
OF ALL THE
GENTLEMEN OF THE BEST CALLINGE

Within the Countye of Lancaster,

WHEREOF CHOYSE YS TO BE MADE OF A C'TEN NUMBER
TO LEND VNTO HER MAT^{TYE} MONEYE VPON
PRIVIE SEALS IN JANVARYE

1588.

FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE
REV. F. R. RAINES, M.A., F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXII.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Privy Seals were always exceedingly unpopular, as the recognizance was not invariably discharged nor repudiated, but considered as dormant, and the men of "great worship" who advanced the voluntary loans, as they were termed, were ranked in each county chiefly according to the amount of their contributions, and not as they were regarded by the Heralds. We have here a list of the principal old and wealthy families of Lancashire in the time of Queen Elizabeth, many of whom did not bear Coat Armour, and were not ranked amongst "Gentlemen" by the courtly but inexorable officers of the Earl Marshall. The "fountain of all honour," however, deemed it politic, at this critical juncture, to address individuals of various degrees of local honour and dignity as "Gentlemen of the beste callinge," and it will be readily admitted that the names now presented indicate men in whom there was a concurrence of "birth, education, and continual affectation of good manners," which, Selden says, completed the character and obtained the title of a gentleman.— (Preface to *Titles of Honour*.) The higher Clergy are omitted here, as they taxed themselves and granted Royal Aids in Convocation. Of the two hundred and twenty-six individuals named, not thirty have left descendants in the male line living on their ancestral property, and the estates of the great majority have passed, from time to time, into other families either by marriage,

purchase, or settlement. The money raised at this time by the Crown was to defray expenses connected with the resistance of the Spanish Armada.

Writs of Privy Seal and the old Exchequer were abolished by *Stat. 14 and 15 Vict. c. 82*. Some of the books are in the Rolls Chapel, and others were transferred to the Treasury, in the year 1834. — Sims's *Manual of Public Records*, pp. 137, 462; *Harl. MS. 2219*, p. 19 b; *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxiii. p. 598.

F. R. R.

THE NAMES, &c.

Derbye Hundreth.

S ^r Rychard Mollineux	Rychard Vrmeston
S ^r Thomas Gerrard	Edmund Holme
S ^r John Holcroft	George Ireland de Lydiate
M ^r Edward Stanley	Barnabie Kitchin
Edward Halsall	John Woold
Rychard Bovlde	Bartholomewe Hesketh
M ^{ris} Halsall de Halsall	M ^r Ashton of Penket
George Ireland de Hutt	M ^r Mollineux of Mellinge
M ^{ris} Halsall	Gefferey Holt
Roger Bradshawe	M ^r Blundell of Ince
Edward Scaresbrecke	Thomas Lancaster
Myles Gerrard	John Rishley
Edward Norreys	Hamlet Dychfield
Richard Massye	Homfray Winstanley
Peter Stanley	John Bretherton
Henry Eccleston	Thomas Mollineux
John Byrome	Iohn Ashton
John More	Thomas Ince
Henry Stanley	Thomas Abraham
Rychard Blundell	Rychard Eltonheade
John Culcheth	Vxor ffancis Bolde
Rob ^t Langton	Rob ^t Phazakerley
Adam Haurden	Willm Ashurst

Lambert Tildesley	Edward Tarbucke
John Crosse	Persivall Harington
Thomas Holme of Deffe Holme	Willm Anderton
Lawrence Ireland	Thomas Holcroft
Rychard Holme of Male	

Leyland Høndreth.

Mr Rob ^t Hesketh	Gilb ^t Langtrye
Edward Standishe	John Adlington
Thomas Standishe	Edward Worthington
John Fleetwood	Thomas Clayton
Willm ffarington	John Forshawe
Thomas Lathome	Thomas Chisnall
Rob ^t Charnocke	Rychard Nelson
Thomas Ashton	Rob ^t Mawdisley
Henry Banaster	Willm Banastre
James Anderton	Nycholas Worthington
John Cuerden	Rychard Porter
John Wrightington	Thomas Hoghton
James Stopforth	Thomas Clayton

Lonsdall Høndreth.

George Midleton	Thomas Carus
Willm Fleeming	Thomas Curwen
Rob ^t Byndelowes	Mr Croft
Willm Thorneborowe	Mr Sotheworth of Hyefeild
Thomas Preston	Willm Redman
Christopher P'ston	James Ambrose
Roger Dalton	Thomas Cansfield
Franc ^s Tunstall of Thurland	Richard Curwen
Roger Kirbye	Françs Tunstall of Awclyffe

Edward Borth	John Haworth
John Tompson	Browne
John Culvard	Jervais Kitson
Newton of Wittingam	Christopher Carus
Thom̃s P'ker	Thomas Morley

Salforth Hundreth.

Sr Edmund Trafford	John Mollineux
Sr John Radcliffe	George Haughe
Sr John Birron	John Bradshawe
Mr Ashton of Midleton	Adam Hilton
Rauphe Barton	Edmund Heywood
Mr S'geant Shutleworth	Roger Browneley
Rychard Holland	Rychard Leyver
Frauñs Holt	George Longworthe
Edmund Trafford	Willm̃ Holland
Edmund Prestwich	Alexander Ward
X'topher Anderton	Thomas Massye
Robt Moosley	Robert Holt
Edward Rawstorne	Charles Radclyffe
Charles Holt	Edward Butterworth
Edmund Ashton	James Hallywell
Willm̃ Hilton	Cuthbert Scowfield
James Browne	Arthur Ashton
Raphe Ashton	Ellis Ainsworth
John Grynehaghe	James Ashton
Alexander Barlowe	Thomas Crompton
Willm̃ Orrell	George Pilkington
Mr Dansye	James Holme
Mr Reddishe	Rychard Radclyffe
Edmund Hopwood	Thomas Chaderton
Gilbt Sherington	Rychard Hyndley
Mr Radclyffe of Foxdenton	George Lathome

Thomas Valentyne	George Proudlowe
Starkye	Hvmfrey Hoghton
Thomas Ainsworth	George Holland
Willm Bamforth	Lawrence Robinson
John Radclyffe	Nycholas Mossley
George Birche	

Blackburne Hundreth.

Sr Rycharde Sherburne	Mr Shuteleworth of Gawthroppe
Sr John Sothworth	Mr Habergbam
John Towneley	Gilbt Rishton
Edward Osbaldeston	Willm Rishton
Roger Nowell	Henry Towneley of Barneshyde
John Bradshawe	John P'ker
Nycholas Banastre	John Dewhurst
John Rishworth	Thomas Ainsworth
Mr S'geant Walmysley	Thomas Astley
Thomas Langton	John Clayton
Edward Braddell	Willm Barcroft
Bryan P'ker	Mr Duckworth of Duckworth
Rycharde Ashton	Alexander Rishton
Hyversall	My Ladye Hesketh
Rycharde Lyvesay	Hancocke
Edmund Starkie	Mr Towneley of Royle

Amounderness Hundreth.

Thomas Houghton	Edmund Fleetewood
Thomas Barton	Thurstan Tildesley
Willm Skillicorne	Rycharde Braddell
John Westbye	Thomas Singleton
Thomas Eccleston	Mr Traves

John Massye
M^{ris} Rogerley
Laurence Veale
Willm Hesketh
Robert Plesington
Thomas Whittingham

M^r Haydocke
M^r Hothersall
John Singleton
Willm Kirkbye
Henry Butler
John Butler of Kirkland

SOME
INSTRUCTIONS
*Given by WILLIAM BOOTH Esquire to his Stewards JOHN
CARINGTON and WILLIAM ROWCROFTE,*
UPON THE
PURCHASE OF WARRINGTON
*By Sir GEORGE BOOTH Baronet and
WILLIAM BOOTH his Son,*
A.D. MDCXXVIII.

COMMUNICATED BY
WILLIAM BEAMONT, ESQ.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXII.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

[WILLIAM BOOTH of Dunham Massey, by whose means his family acquired the possession of Warrington, was the son of Sir George Booth the first baronet of the family, and the father of the celebrated Sir George Booth who after the Restoration was created Baron Delamere. William Booth married Vere, second daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Egerton, eldest son of the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, and died on the 26th April 1636, in the lifetime of his father. — (See the pedigree in Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. iii. p. 112, and *Harleian Catalogue*, vol. ii. p. 517, where there is an account of his funeral.) Several reasons seem to have conspired to excite him to the acquisition of Warrington. He was lineally descended from the Butlers, its ancient lords, through the marriage, in the reign of Henry VIII., of his ancestor Sir George Booth with Elizabeth, a daughter of the first Sir Thomas Butler; and his grandfather, Sir William Booth, in the year 1575 had actually acquired from Edward Butler during the lifetime of the last Sir Thomas Butler a limitation of the property to himself in fee in the event of Edward Butler dying without issue: but this benefit he afterwards, at the instance of Sir Thomas Butler, and for an adequate consideration, reconveyed to the latter in 1579. The actual contract which led to the following instructions is dated 1st February 1628, and is made between Thomas Ireland of Bewsey Esq. of the one part and William Booth Esq. son and heir apparent of Sir George Booth of Dunham Massey of the other part. The negotiation which ended in the contract seems to have

In a subsequent page of the rental of 1627, from which the foregoing memoranda are taken there is a calculation, in the handwriting of William Booth, of the manner in which the different payments of the purchase money are to be raised. The money was to be paid by three instalments; and towards each of the first two instalments he sets down 500*l.* to be paid by the tenants alluded to in the instructions, and of the third payment no less a sum than 1500*l.* is set down to be raised by compositions "not yet made, and by other means contained in a particular remaining in the hands of John Carington and William Rowcrofte." A little later in the book we have the names of those tenants who contributed, with the amount of their contributions, which vary from 30*s.* to 30*l.*; and then there is added this note, evidently written after the death of William Booth the purchaser:

Manie more fynes of tenants were received and paid for this purchase of Warrington, both in the life tyme of William Booth Esquier and also after his decease for the repaie ment of the ladee Egerton her money and use for it, as appeareth in other bookes, made in my yonge M^r his minoritie.

The notices occurring in the rental sufficiently shew the difference between these times and our own. Nearly the whole of the property, it appears, was let out on life leases. The tenants were all bound to grind at the lord's mill, and every plow land was obliged to render him two days' work with a team and two days' work with a laborer yearly, while every ancient cottage which had been Butler's was bound to render a day's work with a harrow and a day's work with a laborer; and from a summary of these services, in which their value is put down, we learn their number, and that a struggle, arising out of mutual inconvenience, was going on in order to have them commuted for a money payment. The summary is as follows:

36 plows at 4*s.* 8*d.*

40 harrows at 7*d.*

66 shearers and fillers of dung 4*d.*

But none of these differences will strike the reader more than the

recurrence in the particular of instructions to the old principle of the feudal benevolence which enabled the lord on many family occasions to call upon his tenants to help him with pecuniary aid. Instances of an appeal to this principle were frequent in the earlier ages of our constitution. The pedigree before referred to informs us that Sir John Booth, a direct ancestor of William Booth the purchaser, was a contributor to the reasonable aid "before the battle of Flodden," but probably no later instance of a landlord making a similar appeal to his tenantry than that mentioned in these instructions is on record.]

SOME INSTRUCTIONS, &c.

Copied from an original paper in the hand writing of William Booth Esquire, and supposed to be instructions from him to John Carington and William Rowcrofte, Sir George Booth's stewards.

I WOULD wish you to call the tenants first all together, and to signifie unto them that my father and I have gone thorow with Mr. Ireland for Warrington, and the summe wee are to give is above 7000^{li}: that this was done makeing noe doubt but that towards it every one of them being tenants would by their assistaunce enable us to finish it:

That it is such an opportunity for them to shew their loves unto us and to gaine our respectes unto them, as the like is never in probability to bee againe:

That the whole countrey observes to see by this what respectfull tenants they are to their Maister, who ever hath bene more favourable to them, than most other landlordes have bene to others:

That the desire now made unto them is for three yeares rent ; which if they will give, my father and I would have you to assure them from us both that during our two lives noe more rentes nor guiftes shall be required :

On the other side if they faile us in this, they may provoke us to sharpe courses, especially mee, who have had a purpose to take the third part of every liveing as it falles, letting the tenant enjoye two partes onely without fine, which course I will not follow, but deale as my father hath, if at this tyme they aide mee.

Other landlordes in Cheshyre, and Lancashyre have lately demaunded three yeares rent of their tenantes onely for spending money, and it was readyly and without delaye graunted if not for love yet for feare ; these yeares rentes are desired not for spending, but purchasing such a thing as the like is not in these countreyes, and are desyred to bee done by them from love, not feare ; besides if others for spending could have three yeares rent given them, and they for a purchase of that good, and reputation to the house to which themselves belong, should denye, or faile, every man would wonder at them, and saye either their maister hath bene a very ill landlord, and his tenantes love him not, or else they will saye they are very unrespectfull tenantes :

Lastly if wee should faile in this, it lying soe nere unto us now that the countrey hath taken notice wee are concluded for it, and that because the tenantes at an extremity forsake us, they will cause much disgrace to us, for every one will saye my father and I had bought Warrington but were not able, and our tenantes refused to assist us : to this purpose I would wish you to speake unto them all together, to the end their affections may be wroghte uppon if it may bee : after, I thinke it fitt, those who have bene with my father, and have promised, bee called publikely before all the rest to know what they will doe, and after they have graunted in the face of all the rest for example, then all to bee sent forth, and dealt with by Poole in particular for feare a refractory spirit by publike deniall should bee like the Bell-weather to draw all the flocke his waye : such as peevishly denye deale with them in their

kyndes and commaund them at a certaine daye to attend my father and give their answere to my father themselves; this I would not have done till you have finished all others, because roughnes being used to any before you have all their answeres may incense some crabbed spirits, who by a fellow feeling will be offended at the check of another though it nothing concerne them. It is likely many will be absent, what course to take with them I leave unto yee two, what course to take; concerning Soundiforth for my uncle Johns and his owne liveing as alsoe the commons in Yorkshyre, I will be up earely in the mourning to conferre with you, as alsoe about some other thinges.

LETTER

FROM

SIR JOHN SETON,

Manchester y^e 25 M[']ch, 1643.

EDITED BY

THOMAS HEYWOOD, ESQ., F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXII.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

THE following letter, written by Sir John Seton or Seaton, for the spelling of the name varies, may be inserted between numbers 28 and 29 of the *Civil War Tracts*, forming the second volume of the Society's publications. Such a letter as the one now before us, by its natural and truthful expression, is most refreshing in the midst of tracts and intelligences conveying almost a delirious outpouring of party feeling, and written either to conceal or distort facts.

We are at the epoch in which Seton visited Lancashire, and during the war there, made acquainted with several names of European reputation borne by soldiers of fortune. The most important of these, Seton, Rosworm and Morgan,¹ were of houses hereditarily accustomed to make a market of their swords. An old

¹ Rosworm took part in Seton's Lancashire campaign. He was the German engineer provided for Manchester, and was there ill used. In Von Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch* (9 b. 1 s), there is an account of the Rosswurms, who it seems were content to bear their strange name (horse-worm) without any corresponding charge in their arms. This family had for three centuries been seated at Hellungen in Coburg, were Protestants, and never abandoned "das uralte Recht eines deutschen Edelmannes dem Auslande sein Schwert zu weihen."

Morgan was one of the earliest Low Country adventurers in Queen Elizabeth's days. Our Lancashire officer of that name first appears as colonel of dragoons (Memorials of Lord Fairfax, *Somers' Tracts*, vol. v. p. 387). He was detached to conduct the siege of Lathom House, and is described as "a little man, short and peremptory" (*Civil War Tracts*, p. 166). His last service as major-general (1657-8) in Flanders, under Turenne, was most brilliant (*Somers' Tracts*, vol. vii. p. 36).

Sir John Seton in 1642 had been nearly forty years in the French-Scottish Guard, but we cannot suspect him of joining the Manchester Parliamentarians. Neither can we seek the writer of this letter in the family of Lord Seton, who were loyalists. The service of Gustavus Adolphus was that most congenial to the taste of the Puritans, and in the list of his officers annexed to Hepburn's *Memoirs*, we find two colonels, "James Seaton of Gargannock, and John his brother." Sir John Seton is denominated colonel by the Parliament, and Monteth designates him as such without the knightly addition (p. 143).

That the writer of this letter had Teutonic recollections admits of no doubt. "Postees" for posts is the dissyllable *pfoste*. Garstang is made *Gerstein*;² for as *als* is used, and *sch* for *sh* is *echtes Deutsch*, as is also *beil* for bill. Then his Scotch origin is not lost sight of. The past tense and participle of seek is *socht*. "The Lord knows

² Although Seton's abrupt transformation of Garstang into Gerstein, and the fraternization thus achieved between the Amounderness Garstang and its West Derby congener Garston, might invite criticism, yet the amount of puzzled etymology resting upon *gar*, *ger*, *car*, *carr*, *carse*, *cur*, *ker*, &c., forbids all curiosity. If Jacob Grimm could find no satisfactory derivation for the *ger* of his own beloved and native Germany (*Gesch. der Deut. Spr.* p. 545), although Camden in his *Remains* had freely bequeathed him one; and if Kemble held *garsecg*, *oceanus*, a "difficult word" (*Glossary to Beowulf*), it would ill become us to express an opinion. *Carstang* Jamieson says, means cart shafts in Roxburghshire. *Cherestanc* is the name of Garstang in Domboc. Baines (vol. iv. p. 454) calls it *Church-pool*, and Dr. Whitaker *Gar's* or *Garre's-pool*. If the prefix here be a proper name, by a reference to an Index Villaris it will be seen that *Gar* was a large proprietor. Those who doubt this solution will find more on the subject in Trench's *English Past and Present*, p. 80, note; Richardson, *gar* and *gerfalcon*; Grimm's *Deutsche Sprache*, p. 36; Diefenbach, vol. i. p. 123, vol. ii. pp. 393, 396; Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*, vol. ii. pp. 57, 455, 494, vol. iii. p. 442; Halliwell, *gore*; also Minshew the same word. *Gaarce*, (*Prompt. Par.*); *Estang*, Cotgrave, &c. For different ways of spelling Garstang, see Baines ut supra. It is *Garstrang* in Speed's Map; vide Jamieson, *gar*, *ger*, *gore*, &c.

what shall become of me" is a pure Scotticism. "Shall," says Sir Edmund Head, "is the proper auxiliary for prophecy when predicting events predetermined and foreknown" (p. 19).

Whitlock says of Alexander Leslie (*Mem.* p. 64): "He was not so good a clerk as a souldier;" if there is an imputation lurking in this criticism, we hesitate in admitting its extension to Leslie's subaltern, the writer of the letter before us. To be sure the scout who "ryds bake" (rides back) supplies a strong illustration of the phonetic mode of writing, but the entente cordiale and the strange conventionalism between orthoepy and orthography were then but imperfectly established, and for the period the letter is respectably written and spelt. "Lake" for leak we regard as a souvenir of old comrades, the Swedish word being *laeck*. The vigour imparted to the English style by changing in narration from the past to the present tense is often resorted to. "The Sergent Major takes three companies and marched;" "Lord Darbie aproches the schip and puts fire in her and burnt all, and so retired." This is foreign to the German idiom. In "threw" the northern guttural is abandoned. The enemy are said to have taken Preston "malureuslie" (malheurislie), Seton thus expressing his sense of the disaster by a composite word which gives us a glimpse of the variety of tongues in the Swedish camp, almost as complete as that which Schiller has at greater length afforded of the Babel in Wallenstein's Lager. "Worser"³ might be classed as

³ *Wirser* in modern German is, as Grimm says, disused (*Deutsche Grammatik*, vol. iii. pp. 589, 606); and *worser* is not open to his objection against *worse*, that it wants all the marks of comparison (*ibid.* vol. v. p. 90). The positive of this comparative perplexes Grimm. Bosworth gives *yfel*, *evil*, for it. *Wer* is a man, and *wyrse* the devil in Saxon; and our South Lancashire *wurr* and the comparison strengthened by the reduplication *wurr and wurr*, as in Scotch, is worthy of notice, as indicating that *worse* had once perhaps a congenial positive. *Worser* is in the *Craven Glossary*. Johnson and Shakespeare (the *Taming of a Shrew*, act. i. sc. 2, and *Othello*, act. iv.

a Germanism (Old High German *wirsira* and Middle High German *wirser*, Grimm's *Deuts. Gram.* vol. iii. p. 606); or it may have been gathered between the Ribble and the Lune, where the Craven dialect obtains, or, as Shakespere and Dryden used the word, it was then no vulgarism, and passed current at any rate in Paul's Walk, which we may suppose Seton frequented as a reformed colonel.

This letter of Seton's was formerly in the possession of Mr. B. H. Bright, who, during a residence in Lancashire, accumulated his extensive collection of books and MSS.; and at his death this letter passed into the Chetham Library, where it now remains. It was printed in May 1821 in the Liverpool *Kaleidoscope*. The envelope and the address are lost, nor is there any thing that enables us to supply their place. Seton is evidently writing to one under whom he had served, and who had provoked a letter by previously addressing him. Mr. Bright conjectured Fairfax to be the correspondent. This could not be, for Ferdinando, then Lord Fairfax, so far from having had men under his command when Seton in September began to raise his force, was at that time reproved by Parliament for endeavouring to establish a neutrality for Yorkshire; his commission as General of the North was given him December 1642 (Rushworth, vol. ii. pp. 3, 91), and Seton had then been nearly three months in Lancashire.

Essex had Scotch officers of Gustavus under him, as Ramsey, Balfour, &c., and from his army Seton's soldiers were originally in-

sc. 1) are quoted for its use, also Tusser; but the Rev. Mr. Carr calls it "a barbarous word." Halliwell states it to be common. *Worser* is not found in the three dialects which supply the *Hallamshire Glossary*, and that of Halifax has strong affinities to our South Lancashire tongue. It is neither in *Tim Bobbin* nor in the Cheshire and the Westmorland dialects. In truth, "worser" has very narrowly missed being received into our language (Pegge's *Anecdotes*, p. 76; *King Lear*, act iv. sc. 6; *Henry VI.*, part i. act v. sc. 4). *Lesser* stands much on the same footing.

tended to have been taken, but Edgehill loomed in the distance, and he was sent to recruit elsewhere (*Civil War Tracts*, pp. 57, 70). Still he came from Essex's district and command. We must imagine the intimacy with and reliance upon the person addressed, which the letter expresses, bestowed on Essex and decide whether such was probable.

Now there was a third person under whom Seton had certainly served, and who was in the field against Charles. Alexander Leslie had returned in 1637 from the German wars, and by his rebellion in 1641 had wrung from his sovereign the earldom of Leven, and was again gratifying his instincts in waging a fresh war on that monarch. Seton's joining his old general was most natural. In returning to his native country we lose sight of Seton, which could hardly have been the case had he joined either Fairfax or Essex.

The circumstances under which Sir John Seton came into Lancashire are so minutely given in the *Civil War Tracts* that we shall merely refer the reader to them for information. Perhaps, looking to dates, Lord Derby's attack on Manchester, September 24th 1642, rather than the allowance of the Roman Catholics to arm, September 27th (as conjectured by Mr. Ormerod), was the origin of the resolution of Parliament, September 29th, to employ Seton and raise his regiment.

The criticisms on Seton by his own party were severe, and required the correction which this letter bestows upon them. John Tilsley insinuates that Seton's stern deportment caused mischief and omits the provocations under which he acted: "Truly, Sir, we owe, (subordinate to God), a great deal to Sir John Seaton: things are artificially and methodically done, past what they were before; he is a man of wonderfull care and unwearied industry, onely rather too harsh for our northern knotty riggid dispositions; had he the meek

spirit and smooth tongue of S. M. Sparrow he were peerlesse" (*Civil War Tracts*, p. 73). The quitting Lancaster Castle, (the effect of which was not then known but is speculated on in this letter), subjected Seton and those who followed him to the remark, "they thought the safest way for themselves was to march towards Manchester and quit the Castle" (*ibid.* pp. 90, 132). John Angier, (for the Puritan divines, believing that the "blast of the silver trumpet" as blown by themselves inspired "the souldiering spirit," *ibid.* p. 120, are severe military commentators,) thus deals with Seton, borne down as he was by a rabble soldiery: "2000 of our forces marched out for the timely relief of Lancaster, but how they were divided and diverted, walked and breathed to and fro, whilst the Earle fires Lancaster, recovered Preston, and rifled Blackburne, I have no minde to inquire, but doe sadly remember; and cannot easily forget how these tydings affrighted our Commanders out of Lancaster Castle, and exposed the Castle so well appointed to the will of the enemy, had not the mighty God, by the assistance of a minister, doubled the spirit of the heartie, (though headlesse), souldiers to maintaine with utmost hazard so great a trust" (*ibid.* p. 132). The main incident of the campaign, the arrival of the Dunkirk ship, is held to be accidental (*ibid.* pp. 89, 130), and that by those who, had it been otherwise, would have denounced such assistance for their enemies; in this instance they also wanted the excuse to justify their plundering the ship, which they accomplished without any misgivings, thanking God for having placed such a booty within their reach.

Seton left the county, as he proposed, shortly after the date of this letter, but not before he had secured it almost entirely to the energetic but turbulent party who so strangely accepted his services. If left to itself Lancashire would have been for the cause of Charles;

but Lord Derby, straining every nerve to assist the King, sent men and arms procured in his Lieutenancies to the Royal head quarters, and thus left his own district at the mercy of opponents (Peck's *Desid. Cur.* vol. ii. p. 433). We read, May 4th 1643: "Since Sir John Seaton's coming out of the county there hath been little action on either side" (*Civil War Tracts*, p. 100). We are not aware he ever revisited us, and certainly he had little encouragement to do so.

Of the names mentioned in this letter the reader will find an account in Mr. Ormerod's admirable contribution to the CHETHAM SOCIETY'S volumes, the *Civil War Tracts*. Dukinfield was now beginning his stormy life, and could not have been more than nineteen years of age. The silver-tongued Sergeant-major Sparrow evades our inquiries. "Mr. Toulson" was either Thomas or George Toulson of Lancaster, who were lay members of the Classical Presbytery of 1646. The rest of the principal actors with Seton were Presbyterians, and gradually waned in importance after 1647; and at no period of their lives do they appear adequately to have estimated the value of discipline and obedience in achieving great ends. In confusion and riot the rebellion in Lancashire began, and so, as Seton experienced, it proceeded; and its success is referable altogether to extraneous causes, which diminished the power of the Loyalists and acted less disastrously on their opponents. The readiness of the peasantry to adopt either party was repeatedly shown, and Lord Derby perhaps could most easily gather together the billmen, of which Seton's letter contains a proof. The soldiery on the Presbyterian side, looking to Seton's testimony and to that Martin-dale gives of Moore's followers, were very licentious. This under Cromwell was restrained, but by means which, interfering with the enjoyments of the people, ultimately produced the Restoration.

The arming of the combatants for this war appears to have been

a work of much difficulty, as might be expected after a cessation of all general bellicose excitement, (with the brief exception of the Armada,) since Bosworth and Stoke. We thus read of a peasantry armed with bills and a soldiery opposed to them with poleaxes.⁴ Germany poured her discarded weapons on to our shores. The leathern cannon which Gustavus adopted for their extreme lightness, (90 lbs. weight), in his Polish wars, and subsequently disused, found their way here, and a sort of caltrops at the end of long poles, which, reproduced in rude wooden engravings by the *Intelligencers* of the day, were supposed to typify the abounding malignancy of the party using them. Even such cannon as the Dunkirk ship brought were little regarded by one who had experienced their worth. "All these disasters only to get these cannon," writes Seton.

The dates necessary to the right understanding of Seton's letter are these: September 29th 1642, the Commons order "1000 dragoniers to be raised under the command of Sir John Seaton," and 16,000*l.* is directed to be raised to pay for the same, with "some troopes of horse for the suppressing of the malignant party in Lancashire." October 3rd, the House resolves that none of Essex's army should be sent to Lancashire, but "agreed that 1000 dragoniers should be designed for the service under Sir Edward Ceton" (*Civil War*

⁴ *Poll axe*, Todd's *Johnson*; as two substantives apparently rejected by Richardson. *Polax, bipennis* (*Prompt. Par.*), furnished with a double axe? It is in Wright and Halliwell "(Anglo-Saxon) a heavy halberd." Minsheu is imaginative in deriving pole axe "fortè à *pull*, trahere, detrahère. Genus est armorum quo hostem ab equo detrahère possumus vel potius Polonica ascia a Polonian axe." *Bill* an axe is not in Cotgrave as French; it is given as English, and translated "hallebarde." *Bill* is old Saxon for *securis*, and is in *Beowulf*. As to its derivation from a bird's bill, see Diefenbach, pp. 81, 82. We are told (1642) that "the naylers of Chowbent instead of making nayles have busied themselves in making bills and battle axes" (*Civil War Tracts*, p. 651).

Tracts, pp. 40, 57). October 28th, the 1000 dragoniers are on their march to Manchester under Sir John Seaton "a brave and valiant Scottish commander; these dragoniers are part of those men that came out of Holland in the ship that was forced by a leake to put into Yarmouth" (*ibid.* p. 60). February 9th 1642-3, Seton took Preston; before February 14th he had won Lancaster. March 13th, Lord Derby issued from Wigan, having heard of the arrival of the Spanish ship; between the 15th and the 18th he burnt the vessel and retired; on the 18th he summoned Lancaster and took the town. About March 17th Ashton was sent from Preston to relieve Lancaster, Seton being in bed from a fall from his horse, but the expedition failed; and hearing of this about March 20th, Seton set forth with fresh troops, and Lord Derby passing him took Preston. About March 22nd the desertion of Lancaster Castle by Seton, as stated in the letter, occurred (*ibid.* pp. 71, 84, 85, 130). There is much difficulty in giving precise dates from the carelessness of the news-writers, but Seton's letter, written March 25th, places the events he describes earlier than the printed accounts fix them.

LETTER, &c.

My verie hon^{ble} good Lord

I have received ye honor of yor kynd letter w^{ch} was both seasonable and comfortable. I am now in a worser condition wth these people then ever. For Preston is lost again to us & that by the couardlines of the sogiors & by the malignants wthin the towne who declared themselves enemies so soone as the enemies forces assaulted, & shot upon or gards wthin the towne from the windowes, w^{ch} wes a cheef cause they were beat from there posteets. I enjoed Preston & Lancaster a month peaceable, & so after I had geven order for makeng of some workes for defence of the Towne, I had layd a plott for the taking of Warinton & came to Manchester for that purpose to make preparation, The next morneng S^rgent Major Sparrow sends me a letter by a post sheweng me that there wes a Spanish schip blowne in wth a storme to Weyre waters and had a lake there pylot being dead desired help, The Sergent Major takes three companies wth him & I sent him other 3 & thus marched towards the schip, where the Captens were come a schoare at Rosehale, the next day the Spanyards came a schoare to the number of 400. Upon the 3^d day my Lord comes over the ford at Hiskebank wth 300 horse, Our foote wold not advance to the schip feareng that my Lord had had foote as well as horse, so they marched over to the oth^r syde of the water to preserve the amunition w^{ch} they had gotten out of the schip, there were but 12 musquetirs left in the schip & these fled away, so my Lord of Darbie aproches the schip & puts fire in her & burnt all, and so retired home again att the ford of Hiskebank, Then Colonell Doddin & Mr. Toulson were taken prisoners, for they wold not belive but y^t the enemye were our people, they were so drunk wth Joy of the schip, w^{ch} tho it wes burned we recovred all the ordinance to the nom-

ber of 22, wherof 8 were of brass, 2 demi cannons, one minion, 5 sacres wherof 3 were broke & made useles, In this interim y^t we got up the Canons to the Castle of Lancaster, Sir John Girlinton & Mr. Teilslic & others had sent for forces from some parts of Yorkscheare & got a quantitie of armes, & so invited my Lord to come again they wold joyn wth his Lo: w^{ch} my Lord did, returned presentlie wth 7 Companies of foote, 5 troops of horse, 3 peeces of cannons & beeing in the Fyld Countrey where all are papists, they resorted all to him wth the best armes they had, some musquets many horse & infinit numbers of beilmen, Just about this time the sogiors of Preston rose up in a mutine, about a 100 mad men wth polaxes & they socht to have my heart blood, why forsuth, I had given a sogior a knok or 2 for shooteng off his peece between 6 & 7 at night after the watch was sett, by Gode mercie I had past threw a howse neere to the gard & so went threw barns & stables to see some feeld to make a work upon, presentlie these furious sogiors followed me & socht me in that howse but found me not, watched my lodgeng wth a gard all night to catch me if I should go home, Comanded the gards at every avenu not to let me out of Towne, so y^t I wes forced to ly out of my howse that night, and the next morneng was faine to leepe ditches & hedges to get to Lancaster for they had beset all passages to kill me, when I came to Lancaster there wes 8 cōpanies of sogiors, y^e canons were carieng up to the Castle, Manchester Bolton Preston were stryveng who should have the best peeces, but haveng intelligence y^t Tilslic was to joyne wth my Lord & to assault Lancaster I removed from y^t place and retorned to Preston for then the sogiors were a litle apased by pswasion of Collonell Schutleworth, I sent for all the troopes I could have from Blakborne & Bolton, & had comanded Colonell Holland wth his regement from Manchester to set upon Warinton, I got 12 Companies of foote togither, but haveng received a great falle from my horse y^t nicht I came from Lanc^r I could not stur out of my bed & am not well as yet; but I sent Coll. Asshton wth 9 Companies & kept but 3 in Towne, & so I comanded him to march foreward & assalt the enemie in the reare, The 8 comp^s in Lanc^r in the van wold be a means to

relive them of Lanc^r who were beseege by these Troopes. The Coll^l being halfe way at Gerstein had no Corage to go on, sheweng that the enemie wes strong and if they should be beatten the Countie were lost, I wrot to him to stay there y^t wold amuse the enemie, he called the councell of warre w^{ch} were all of his mynd to returne again the next day, They were not so soone out of r^t place but 2 scouts of the enemies ryds bake & advertises them Imediatele they assault Lanc^r & were beatten of again, had not a sogior cryed we have no powder, so they made a fresch assault, & came & burnt the Towne for the most p^t. our sogiors retired to the Church & the Castle, I heireng of this, knew y^t in case I relived them not presentlie they must render men, armes & Canons to the enemie The next day I got upon my horse sore as I wes wth eleven Comp. of foote some few ill monted horse who durst not looke the enemie in the face, & wth these I marched to Lanc^r haveng left in garison in Preston 4 comp^s of foote a troope of horse of Cap^t Dukinfield wth 500 clubmen Coll. Holland beng in towne & Sergeant Major Chantrell I marched in a crosse way haveng no horse nor Canons yet in vew of the enemie So soon as I was past, they knew I wold relive Lanc^r. The enemie marched foreward to attempt against Preston w^{ch} they carried malureuslie. I wes to march from Lanc^r wth the troupes about 2 of the klok again but no sogior wold stur in regard they were weried, having marched 20 myls, The next morneng being reddie to march, none wold stay in Lanc^r. Coll. Stanlies 3 Comp^s who were into it caused beat there drums in spyt of my teeth, & when I caused schut the gates, they swore they wold fyre the Canons & the castle & be gon, so y^t I was faine to cause set open the gates, none of Coll. Schutleworth regem^t wold stay, so y^t I was in a greater pplexitie then ever, At last 2 of Coll. Hollands regem^t sayd, Sir we will stay if yow will stay, but not els I wes forced to stay in the castle, and send the other awy to Preston, but about midway news came to them y^t Preston wes taken by my Lord, Sergeant Major writs this to me by a post & desires me to retire my selfe by the way of Clethro & by nicht oth^rwys I could not escape I Mayd this known to the 2 Captens wth me, They seyed this was no place for me to be in, nether wold they stay after

me, so I parted out of the castle & wrot to the liftenents, how things stood, desired them If the sogiors wold not stay to defend the castle to retire the same way to Clethro. It seems the Comp^s has gotte salt beef & porke for a month or 2 & ther is water in the Castle, so y^t If we can relive them against y^t tyme it is well, but I dispare of y^t seeing it is to fare for us above 40 myls. This schip has bin the cause of all o^r sorrow haveng o^r troopes devyded onely to gett these Canons. But it is Gods pleas^r thus to deale wth vaine men, who puts there Confidence in Canons & men more then in God. And now I am att Manchester scarslie dare I come to the streets for feare of killing of me, Wee are presentlie to go to the feelds to seeke the enemie & ether fecht wth them or attempt some Towne, But yet I am in als bad a Case as before the sogiors say they will kill me because I gave them not the plundrage, & Papists goods of Preston w^{ch} I never medled with. The Lord knows what shall become of me, I wish I were transported safe to yo^r Lo: ffor I can not live in securitie hier, nether have I gott a sexpence to mentean my selfe & people, haveng 8 horses & 6 servants w^{ch} I brocht from London. I was interteined by the gentilmē of Lanc^r for 3 months onelie, now the last of March my tyme is expired, & then I will stay no longer, But If I can gett away wth my lyfe I intend to come & see yo^r Lo^p wheresoever yow be, The Lord be wth you & gyd you in all yo^r hon^{ble} & Christian deseins as for me I think my selfe much yo^r servand & at all occasions shalbe reddie to express it as he who shall ever remain

My Lord

Yo^r Lo^ps most hūble & faithfull Servant,

JOHAN SETON.

Manchester y^e 25 of M[']ch 1642.⁵

If I had bin wth the troops when they went from Lanc^r I had assaltd Preston again or died in y^e place, but o^r men retired to Ribchester.

⁵ The year 1642 O.S. expiring 24th March, this letter, written on old New-Year's Day, should have borne the date of 1643, as confirmed by internal evidence. It has been docketed on the margin of the second page in a contemporary handwriting, "S^r John Seaton, March 25, 1643."

THE NAMES
OF
EIGHT HUNDRED INHABITANTS
OF MANCHESTER

WHO TOOK THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO CHARLES II.
IN APRIL, 1679.

COMMUNICATED BY
JOHN HARLAND, F.S.A.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXII.

NAMES OF EIGHT HUNDRED INHABITANTS OF MANCHESTER, IN APRIL 1679.

OWING to reports of disaffection in the North, though the oath of allegiance to Charles II. had been administered in Manchester in the year 1661,* shortly after his accession or restoration, it was deemed advisable, with a view to ascertain the extent of the disaffection in this town, to require all the burgesses and other inhabitants, residents of the manor, to appear at the lord's court-leet for the manor, and take the oath of allegiance to the king, nineteen years afterwards.

Accordingly on Tuesday, 29th April, 1679, and following days, the burgesses and other inhabitants attended at the court-leet and took the required oath, to the number of about 800. Their names were recorded in the books of the court-leet with little distinction, except that to some is affixed the word "gent." In this extract they are arranged alphabetically. The spelling has been carefully adhered to, and the only liberties taken with the old record are, that, to avoid a repetition of the surname, persons of different families perhaps, and certainly of various Christian names, are all placed after the same surname; and, to keep the list within as small a compass as possible, most of the Christian names have been more or less abbreviated. As to the three most common, they are represented by their initial letter only — viz., J. for John; T. for Thomas; and W. for William. The other abbreviations will be readily understood.

Addison Rt.
Alcock J., Rd.
Alcocke Nathan, Geffrey
Allen Jas.
Alsmore P.
Ancors J.
Andrew J., T.

Antrobus Rt., J.
Arstall W.
Ashley J.
Ashton J., Fras.
Ashworth Edw.
Asker Rt.
Aynsworth Lawrence

* In Oct. 1661 the number of inhabitants recorded as having taken the oath of allegiance was 584.

- Baguley Raphe
 Bamber Geo.
 Bancroft Jerry, Rt., Jos., Jas., Alex.
 Barker Jon.
 Barlow Henry, J., Jas., Geo., W., Sl.
 Barners Rt.
 Barnes Jno., Edw.
 Barnett Obediah
 Barre Rd.
 Barrett Micah, Edw., Jas.
 Barrowe Walter, Sl.
 Barton Geo., W.
 Bason Jas.
 Bateman Geo.
 Baxter Rd., Rt.
 Baynton Jas.
 Bealey W., Ellis, Hy., Edw., Dl.
 Beavan J.
 Beck Jas., T., W.
 Bennett Randle
 Benson Geo.
 Bent T., Roger, Geo., Fras.
 Bentley Jos.
 Berron W., J.
 Berrye Nichs.
 Beswick Chas, J.
 Bewman T.
 Beymond Rt. *gent.*
 Binns J.
 Birch T., Rt.
 Blackshaw W.
 Blackwell Rph.
 Boardman Jas. and Jno., Jerh., J.
 Boden Tim.
 Bolton Jas., Edw.
 Booth Rd., J., Rph., Mw., Rt.
 Bottomley, Jerh.
 Boulton J.
 Bower Myles
 Bowers Rt.
 Bowker Peter, Jas., Jerh., Ml., Wm.
 Boyes Tobias
 Braben T.
 Bradley Rd.
 Bradshawe Isaac, Myles *gent.*, Rd.,
 J., Rph., Hum., W.
 Bratt J.
 Brideoake T., W.
 Briggs Rt.
 Broadhead Caleb
 Bromiley Geo.
 Brooke W. *gent.*, J., Sl.
 Brookes Geo., Chas.
 Brookesshawe Jos.
 Browne Rt. *clk.*, Rt. jun. *clk.*
 Buckley J., Rt.,
 Buerdsell J., Rd.
 Burnell Rt.
 Burnett Philip
 Burre Rd.
 Bury Rd., Jas.
 Bushell T.
 Butterworth T., Jas.
 Buxton Sl.
 Byrom W., Edw.
 Carr Randle
 Carrington J., W.
 Cartwright Fras.
 Caton J., Oliver
 Causey T.
 Chadderton J., Rd.
 Chadkirke Jno.
 Chadwick Rt., T.
 Chapman Rt., Sl., Geo.
 Chetham Humfrey, Jas.
 Chew J.
 Chisnall T.
 Chorley J.
 Chorlton J., Sl.
 Clay Wm., J., Lawce., Jos.
 Clayton J.
 Collier J.
 Cooke Jno., Dl., Chas., Joshua
 Coppock T., Edw.
 Court Willfrey
 Cradwell Hy.
 Crompton Wareing, Jas., W.
 Croke Rd.
 Crosley Rt.
 Crosse J.
 Curteous J.

Curtis J.

Daniell J.

Darbshire Jas.

Davenport Rd., J.

Dawson J.

Deale Jas.

Deane Hamlet, Nathl.

Deanham Edw., T.

Dennis J. *gent.*, Rt.

Dickanson J., T.

Didsburye —

Dixon Joshua, T.

Dixson Rd.

Doodson Hy.

Drinkwater Arnold, *gent.*, W., Sl.

Duckworth Rd.

Dunster Jas.

Duxburye Hy.

Eaton Sl.

Edge W., Jon.

Edmundson W.

Eld Chas.

Ellom Jon.

Ellor Sl., Edw., J.

Erlam T.

Evans T.

Eyres Geo., Rph.

Farmerey Geo.

Farrand Peter

Farrar Edm.

Faulkner W.

Fell Chrstr., J.

Fielden Rd.

Fletcher Rd., Alex., Jas.

Gardner Lawce.

Gartside Abm., W., Enoch, Phineas

Gee Geo.

Gerard T.

Gibson Rd., I.

Gilliam J., Rt.

Glover W.

Goddard Edw., T.

Goodier T.

Grantham Humfrey

Graver Joshua

Greaver Rph., Rt.

Greene Edw.

Greenehalghe J.

Gregg J.

Grimshawe T.

Guest W.

Hague Ml.

Hall Geo., Dl., J., W.

Hallowes Jos.

Hamer Hy.

Hamlet W.

Hampson Rd.

Hanley Humphrey

Harcourt J.

Hardman Rd., Wm.

Hardye Rd., J.

Harrison T., Jery.

Harrold Jas., T.

Hartley T., W. *gent.*, Rt., J.

Harwood T.

Hassell Rd.

Haughton J., Rph.

Hawkins T.

Heateley Jas.

Henshawe W., J.

Hepworth W.

Herd J.

Heskye Ezekiel

Hey Geo.

Heyden Jas.

Heyes Jos., P.

Heyrick T. *gent.*Heywood T., Jas., Edw., J., Edw.
constable of Ardwick

Hibbert Nathl., W., J.

Higginson W., J.

Higham Jos. *gent.*

Highfield Edmd., J.

Hill Rd., Rt., J.

Hilton Rt., Jas., Fras., Jeffrey

Holbrooke J. *gent.*

Holland Adam, Edw.

Hollins W.
 Hollinworthe J.
 Hope T.
 Hopwood J., Rd.
 Hoult Rd., J.
 Howorth T.
 Hudson J.
 Hughes Jas.
 Hulme Geo., Wm., Adam, Jas., Stephen, Jaffatt
 Hurst Rd., Arthur, Geo.
 Hyde Rt., W.
 Hynde Jon., Jos.
 Hyton J.

Ingham Wm.

Jackson Jas., Geo., J.
 Jepson J.
 Johnson J. *gent.*, Rt., Rd.,
 Johnston W., Rt.
 Jones Abm., Ic.
 Joynson Nathl.

Kabron W.
 Kay Geo.
 Kelshaw W.
 Kempe Rt.
 Kennersley Arthur
 Kenyon Adam, Roger, Rph., J.
 Kershaw Mw.
 Kersley T., Rd.
 Kirkdale Rt.
 Kirke T.
 Kilshaw W.
 Knowles Jos., Rd., T.
 Knutsford T.

Lancaster J.
 Langley Titus
 Langton Roger
 Lansdale J.
 Leach T., Sl., Jas.
 Lealand W.
 Leaver Rt.
 Lee Rt.

Leech Danl.
 Lees Barnabas, Sl., Jos., Hy., Rt.,
 Nichols, J.
 Leigh J., Nichols.
 Lightbowne J. *gent.*
 Lillye Edw., W.
 Lister J. *gent.*
 Livesay Rd.
 Lockett J.
 Lodge Edw.
 Lomax J., Oliver
 Longworth T.
 Lorrinan Rd.
 Lowe J., Jos.
 Loyd Geo.
 Lucas Jas.
 Lyon J.

Maddock Pr.
 Makin Roger
 Manister J.
 Mann Edw.
 Mannson W.
 Mason Rt., T., Roger
 Mather Edw., Jos.
 Mattison J.
 Meaden T.
 Meadowcroft Fras. *gent.*
 Mercer T., J.
 Milnes Jas.
 Mollineux Reginald
 Moorecroft Alex.
 Moores J., Rd., Anthy.
 Moorton Rd.
 Morres Rt.
 Morte Jas., Sl.
 Morton Sl.
 Mosse Nathl., Hy.
 Moxon Mordecai *gent.*, Jas. *gent.*
 Munkister Hugh

Nedham Chas., Cornelius *gent.*
 Neild T. *gent.*, J., Jas., Rt.
 Nesh Sl.
 Newbould Jas.
 Newbye T.

Newcombe Hy. *clerk*.
 Nicholls Jonathan
 Nicholson Rd., Theophilus
 Niggill J.
 Norris J.
 Nuttall Geo.

Ogden Anthy., Jacob
 Oldfield Humfrey
 Orme Jos., J.
 Ouldham Rt.
 Owen W., J., Sl.

Palein J.
 Parke Alex.
 Paver Jas.
 Paynes Jas.
 Peake W.
 Peirson J.
 Pendlebury Adam, J., Rph.
 Pendleton E., Rd., Jerh.
 Pennington W.
 Pepper Nathl.
 Percivall Rt., T., Edmd., Roger, Rd.
 Pimblett Ml.
 Phillippes Jon.
 Phillipson Miles
 Platt W.
 Plungen W.
 Podmore T.
 Pollard T.
 Potter Edw.
 Poynton Jos.
 Prestwich Rt.
 Prisroe J.
 Pyke Rt.

Radcliffe W.
 Ravald Edw.
 Rawlinson Bryan
 Rawson Jas.
 Renshaw J., Hy., Jas., T.
 Rhoades Abm.
 Richardson Edw., Geo., Jas.
 Ridge J.
 Ridgeway Jas.

Rigley Hy.
 Robinson Jas., W.
 Rogers Jas.
 Rothmell Chas.
 Rothwell T.
 Royle J.
 Runigar Jos., J., Edmd.
 Rutleach Geo.
 Rydeings Frs., Hy., Rd., Jos., J.
 Ryley W., Jas., Edmd.

Sandiford Jas., J.
 Saxon Jas.
 Scholes Jon., J.
 Scholfield Frs.
 Scott Edw.
 Seddon J., Jon., Rt., Rd.
 Sharples Hy.
 Shawe W.
 Shelmerdyne J.
 Sheppard J., Andw., Rt.
 Sherwin Jos. *gent.*, Isaac
 Shuttleworth Edmd. Esq., W.
 Slater Jos., T.
 Smethurst Jas., J.
 Smith W. *gent.*, Geo., Jas., J.
 Somister J., Caleb.
 Sorocold W., J.
 Spencer Rd., W., J.
 Stables Roger
 Staynrod T.
 Stevenson T., Rt.
 Stockdale W.
 Stockport J.
 Stopord T.
 Stott J., Jas.
 Strettall Jos.
 Sutton Dl., Rt.
 Swayne Dl.
 Sydebothome Peter, W., T.
 Sykes Rd.

Tarr W.
 Tasker J., W.
 Taylor Jon., Jas.
 Tewxbury T.

Thorpe Rt., T.	Whalley T.
Tompson Rt., Hy., J., Rph., W.	Wharmbye Sl., Hy., W., T.
Tonge J., Sl.	Whitehead J., W.
Towneley Rd.	Whitelock Jas.
Townson Hy.	Whitticar Jas., J., Jos., Rt.
Traves J., Mw.	Whittle W.
Tue Elijah	Widdowes T.
Turner Jas.	Wilcockson J., T.
	Wilkinson Rd., Joshua
Upton J.	Williamson Geo., Lawce., J., W.,
Urmston Edw.	Andw., Rd.
	Wilmoore Dl. <i>gent.</i>
Valentyne Jno. <i>gent.</i>	Wilshawe J.
Vawdrye Edw.	Wilson J.
	Winn J.
Wagstaffe Jos., J.	Winstanley Lawce.
Waite J. <i>gent.</i>	Wither Jos.
Wakefield W.	Wolfenden Abm., Jon.
Walker J., Rd., T., P., Edw., Ml.,	Wood Jos., W.
Joshua, W., Chas.	Worden J.
Wallworke Hugh, T., Rd.	Worsley J., Chas., W., Rt., T., Abm.
Walton Saml.	<i>gent.</i>
Warburton T.	Worthington T., Sl., J., Rd.
Ward Rt., Micah.	Wright Rd., Rt., Dl.
Wardleworth Jas.	Wrightson Rowland, Chrstr.
Wasley J.	Wrigley Edw., Fras.
Wassby J.	Wroe J.
Watson J.	Wyld Joshua, Rph.
Welsh Matthew, J.	
Wesfield Geo.	Yates Rt., Jos.
West Jas.	

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

"You shall swear that from this day forward you will be true and faithful to our sovereign lord the King and his heirs, and faith and truth shall bear of life, member and terrene honour. And that you shall neither know nor hear of any ill or damage intended unto him, that you shall not defend. So help you God."

THE
POLE BOOKE FOR MANCHESTER,

MAY YE 22^D 1690.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
M.DCCC.LXI.

A POLE BOOKE FOR YE TOWNE OF MANCHESTR^R
 GRANTED TO Y^{ER} MAJESTY^S TOWARDS THE
 REDUCEING OF IRELAND AND CARREYING
 ON YE WARR AGAINST FFRANCE. ASSESSED
 Y^E 22^D DAY OF MAY, ANNO DM̄I 1690.

IN Y^E DEANESGATE.

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Travis his wife and sonne.....	0	3	0
Elizabeth Clay[ton?] and Anne Wilkinson	0	2	0
Robert Hill and wife and Sarah Shaw	0	3	0
Richard Wilkinson and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Stockton for 100ℓ.	0	11	0
for 3 children and Elizabeth Ryder	0	4	0
Mrs. Mary Goolden 300ℓ. a Roman Catholick	3	2	0
Mrs. Goolden's maid a Ro: Catholicke	0	2	0
Henry Garnett for 100ℓ.....	0	11	0
his wife and maid	0	2	0
Joshua Wroe and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Burch gent. for 100ℓ.	1	11	0
his wife and maid	0	2	0
Widdow Williamson	0	1	0
Widdow Nuttall	0	1	0
Henry Barlow gent.	1	1	0
his wife and maid and man	0	3	0
Benjamin Bradshaw and wife one child and maid	0	4	0
Humphrey Booth gent.	1	1	0
wife one child and maid	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
William Cookson and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Hallows and man	0	2	0
Thomas Hallows	0	1	0
Thomas Man	0	1	0
Abraham Woolfenden wife and man.....	0	3	0
John Hardy and wife and two daughters	0	4	0
George Longsdon	0	1	0
Two taylors tabled	0	2	0
Peter fletcher and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Slator for 100%.	0	11	0
his wife two children and maid	0	4	0
Mrs. Shuttleworth for 100%.	0	11	0
and for a third parte of her husband deceased Esq...	1	13	4
for her maid.....	0	1	0
Mr. John Lightbowne's wife 4 children and maid	0	6	0
Richard Hardey and wife and sonne.....	0	3	0
Richard Bostock	0	1	0
Joseph Lyon and wife.....	0	2	0
Edward Dason and wife	0	2	0
Nicholas Berry and wife.....	0	2	0
Leonard Egerton gent.	1	1	0
Robert Prestwich and wife.. ..	0	2	0
Thomas Davis and wife	0	2	0
John Carrington and daught ^r Anne	0	2	0
Daniell Hall and wife.....	0	2	0
Richard Hill and wife	0	2	0
Bryan Booth and wife.....	0	2	0
Henry Wrenshaw and wife.....	0	2	0
Nathaniell Whitehead and wife.....	0	2	0
Nathaniell Edgley and wife	0	2	0
Richard Kersley and wife	0	2	0
Richard Wroe D.D.	5	0	0
for two benefices	5	0	0
two maids and a man servant	0	3	0
Obed Barnett and wife and sonne	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
John Oldfeild gent. and for 300 <i>l</i>	2	11	0
his wife and 4 children two maids and a man	0	8	0
Mr. Humphrey Oldfield gent. 100 <i>l</i>	1	11	0
Joseph Wood and daughter	0	2	0
Richard Garner and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Mrs. Gartside for 200 <i>l</i>	1	1	0
3 children a man and maid	0	5	0
Mrs. Carte for 200 <i>l</i>	1	1	0
2 children and 2 maids	0	4	0
Robert Hunter gent.	1	1	0
wife child and maid.....	0	3	0
Thomas Perren and wife.....	0	2	0
Mrs. Glover and two daughters.....	0	3	0
Joseph Hooper gent. 200 <i>l</i>	2	1	0
his wife one child one man and two maids	0	5	0
Dennis Casse for 200 <i>l</i>	1	1	0
his wife 2 daughters and a maid	0	4	0
Mr. James Redich and wife 3 children a man and a maid	0	7	0
Edward Redich gent.	1	1	0
Mr. Ralphe Poole	0	1	0
Mrs. Ellen and Mary Poole	0	2	0
Samuell Poynton and man.....	0	2	0
Isaac Hall and wife.....	0	2	0
Mr. Henry Newcombe	1	1	0
his wife and daughters 2 grandchildren and a maid. .	0	5	0
Mrs. Bayley.....	0	1	0
Mrs. Bradshaw	0	1	0
Thomas Mercer and wife	0	2	0
three men and one maid.....	0	4	0
John Booth and wife	0	2	0
William Siddall and wife	0	2	0
Robert Hyde sen ^r and wife.....	0	2	0
Samuell and Anne Hyde	0	2	0
Joseph Hibbert and wife	0	2	0
Phinias Gartside and wife	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
George Brookes and wife and one man.....	0	3	0
William Hepworth his sonne Tho: and daughter Anne .	0	3	0
Mr. Parke and John Nash.. .. .	0	2	0
Samuell Cottrell and wife and man	0	3	0
William Guest and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Wood and wife sonne and daughter and appren- tice	0	5	0
Daniell Chesworth and wife	0	2	0
John ffawknor and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Mary Hough	0	1	0
Sarah Hill	0	1	0
William Haworth and wife.....	0	2	0
Robert Worrall and wife.....	0	2	0
Mrs. Probey and sonne	0	2	0
Arthur Smethurst and wife and maid and apprentice...	0	4	0
Henry Kirke and maid	0	2	0
John Davie	0	1	0
James Brooks	0	1	0
Ellen Walker	0	1	0
James Bordman and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Bordman and two sonnes and a maid	0	4	0
Robert Hyde jun. and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Eaton schoolemaster	0	1	0
Thomas Knowles and wife	0	2	0
Jonathan Runager and wife and three children	0	5	0
Richard fletcher and Robert Saint	0	2	0
William Barlow and wife	0	2	0
John Heard and wife 5 children and a man.....	0	8	0
William Pollett and wife	0	2	0
John Booth and wife	0	2	0
John Glover and wife	0	2	0
Sarah Leland	0	1	0
William Brooks and wife	0	2	0
William Devis and wife	0	2	0
George Oldham and wife 2 daughters and a man	0	5	0

	£	s.	d.
Richard Spencer	0	1	0
Nathan Bentley	0	1	0
George Thorpe and wife.....	0	1	0
Thomas Cockhill and wife	0	2	0
Joshua Leeds	0	1	0
his wife 2 children a man and maid ..	0	5	0
Mary and Hannah Leeds	0	2	0
Widdow Knowles and sonne	0	2	0
Widdow Owen and sonne and daughter	0	3	0
Richard Hampson and wife	0	2	0
George Smith	0	1	0
James Loe	0	1	0
Andrew ffletcher and wife a man and maid	0	4	0
John Jenkinson and wife	0	2	0
Judeth Pendlebury	0	1	0
William Clay and wife sonne and daughter	0	4	0
James Neild....	0	1	0
Thomas Rothwell and Charles	0	2	0
Anne Neild widdow and daughter. .	0	2	0
Mr. Joseph Sherwin for 100l.	0	11	0
two daughters and maid.....	0	3	0
Alice Thorpe ...	0	1	0
Mr. John Dennis and wife and maid.....	0	3	0
Thomas Gartside for 100l.	0	11	0
his wife one child and maid	0	3	0
Christopher ffell and wife one sonne and a maid.....	0	4	0
John Wroe and wife	0	2	0
William Barlow and wife ..	0	2	0
Mr. Daniell Wolmer for 200l....	1	1	0
his wife and 3 children a man and maid	0	6	0
Mr. John Bowker for 100l.....	0	11	0
3 daughters Tho: and Mary Clowes a maid and two men	0	8	0
Zackery Wilde and wife and maid	0	3	0
Anne Antrobus	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Thomas Udall	0	1	0
Elizabeth Knowles	0	1	0
Lawrance Garner sen. 200/.	1	1	0
one apprentice and maid.....	0	2	0
Lawrance Garner jun. and wife.....	0	2	0
Samuell Cock and wife	0	2	0
John Berron gent.	1	1	0
and for practice	0	15	0
his wife 2 children and maid	0	4	0
George Ogden gent.....	1	1	0
his wife and sonne ..	0	2	0
John Whitley and wife	0	2	0
John Lomax and wife and maid	0	3	0
Elizabeth Barker..	0	1	0
Anne Persivall.....	0	1	0
Mr. Thomas Neild for 100/. ..	0	11	0
his wife 3 children and maid	0	5	0
Mrs. Katherine ffox	0	1	0
Mr. Smith and wife and maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Moores	0	1	0
Mr. Nathan Leech jun. gent. wife and two children ...	1	4	0
Edward Goddard and wife and 5 children	0	7	0
Mr. Nathaniell Smith.....	0	1	0
Mr. ffancis Meadowcroft 200/.	1	1	0
his wife 7 children and maid	0	9	0
Mr. ffinch.....	1	1	0
his wife 4 children a man and maid	0	7	0
Mr. Richard Persivall gent. 300/.	2	11	0
his wife 4 children a man and maid	0	7	0
Edward Vawdrey and wife	0	2	0
James Turner and wife	0	2	0
John Smethurst	0	1	0
Joseph Yates and wife and man	0	3	0
Richard Crooke and wife	0	2	0
Richard Shepley and wife a maid and sister.	0	4	0

	£	s.	d.
John Seddon and sister	0	2	0
Anne Barnes her sonne and daughter	0	3	0
Nath: Leech sen. gent. and for practice	1	16	0
wife sonne 2 daughters a grandchild and maid	0	6	0
Ellen Williamson and 2 sisters	0	3	0
Israell Eaton for 100%	0	11	0
wife and child a man and maid	0	4	0
Widdow Eaton for 100%	0	11	0
John Hopwood for 100%	0	11	0
A wife 5 children a man and 2 maids	0	9	0

SMITHEY DOORE.

Thomas Minshall sen. gent. and 400%	3	1	0
Thomas Minshall jun. gent. and 200%	2	1	0
Mrs. Mary Minshall	0	1	0
and two maids	0	2	0
Mr. Samuell Lightbourne gent. for 100%	1	11	0
wife and four children	0	5	0
Mrs. Isabell Booth and daughter for 200%	1	2	0
Mrs. Maddock jun. for 200%	1	1	0
2 children and a maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Maddock sen. for 100%	0	11	0
one maid	0	1	0
Mr. Edward Scott for 200%	1	1	0
two men and two maids	0	4	0
francis Nichollson	0	1	0
Unis Held	0	1	0
Mr. Holebrooke gent.	1	1	0
wife two children and a maide	0	4	0
Mrs. Holebrooke for 200%	1	1	0
one daughter and a maide	0	2	0
Henery Hartly	0	1	0
James Bridge	0	1	0
Abraham Leach ..	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Joshua Ryland and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Whitley... ..	0	1	0
Jonathan Phillips and wife.....	0	2	0
Mr. Geo: Cheetham for 200%.....	1	1	0
wife 5 children and two maids	0	8	0
Mr. Mathew ffnlison for 100%	0	11	0
wife 2 children and maid	0	4	0
Thomas Carre and wife and daughter	0	3	0
Peter Ellam and wife	0	2	0
John Smethurst and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Smith.....	0	1	0
wife and 3 children	0	4	0
Mrs. Martha Rylands and two daughters for 100%	0	13	0
Henry Wrigley gent.	1	1	0
Elizabeth Vallantine and maid	0	2	0
James Owsey and wife and maid	0	3	0
Mr. Edward Siddall for 200%.....	1	1	0
wife 6 children and maid	0	8	0
Mr. James Mosse for 200%.....	1	1	0
4 children a man and two maids	0	7	0
Mr. William Swarbreck for 100%	0	11	0
wife and 3 children	0	4	0
Thomas Barrow ..	0	1	0
Margrett Swarbreck	0	1	0
Mrs. Bradshaw	0	1	0
Mrs. Sarah Wrigley	0	1	0
Mrs. Mary Watts	0	1	0
Mary Birch	0	1	0
Lawrance Sleight gent.....	1	1	0
his wife a child a man and maid	0	4	0
Thomas Sykes and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Myles Bradshaw for 200%	1	1	0
wife and 3 children and maid.....	0	5	0
Mr. Joseph Byrom for 100%	0	11	0
wife child a man and maid.....	0	4	0

	£	s.	d.
Henry Gudier and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Thomas Butterworth for 100 <i>l</i>	0	11	0
wife 3 children a man and two maids	0	7	0
Ralph Ridgway for 200 <i>l</i>	1	1	0
wife a grandchild a man and maid.....	0	4	0
Zackery Whitworth.....	0	1	0
George Gee	0	1	0
William Corles and wife.....	0	2	0
journey man and apprentice	0	2	0
Thomas Anderson and wife and maid	0	3	0

ST. MARY' GATE.

Jane Rootleach and sonne	0	2	0
John Leeds and wife	0	2	0
John Renshaw and wife	0	2	0
William Hyde and wife	0	2	0
Anue Saint	0	1	0
Joshua Corles and wife and maid	0	3	0
Richard Baxter and wife	0	2	0
Robert Crosley and daughter....	0	2	0
Mary Butterworth	0	1	0
Samuell Taylor	0	1	0
John Ashton his man	0	1	0
Robert Chapman.....	0	1	0
John Clayton and wife 1 child two maids.....	0	5	0
Mr. Tho: Scrivener and wife	0	2	0
John Wright and wife.....	0	2	0
John Barrett and wife	0	2	0
Henry Threllford and wife ..	0	2	0
George Hall and wife	0	2	0
Myles Phillipson and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Brooks and wife and man	0	3	0
James Wrigley and wife.....	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
James Smith and wife	0	2	0
Shusan Eaton his maid	0	1	0

CONDUITT.

Gilbert Loe and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Hynde for 100l.	0	11	0
2 children a man and maid.....	0	4	0
Mr. John Beaven for 100l.....	0	11	0
wife and 3 daughters	0	4	0
Mrs. Moxon a man and maid ..	0	3	0
James Waite	0	1	0
Jeffery Burges and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Davemport	0	1	0
Richard Haworth.....	0	1	0
James Crompton.....	0	1	0
Richard Redford	0	1	0
Nicholas Bell	0	1	0
Joseph Withers and wife	0	2	0
Nathaniell Nicholson	0	1	0
John Chorley and wife	0	2	0
John Barlow and wife.....	0	2	0
Mr. Josiah Walker for 100l.	0	11	0
4 children a man and maid	0	6	0
Daniell Hulme and wife	0	2	0
Mary Hardey	0	1	0
Mr. John Johnson his wife and sone	0	3	0
Thomas Bradshaw and wife	0	2	0
Henry ffogge and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. New 3 children and maid	0	5	0
Mr. Jonathan Greene for 100l.	0	11	0
for his man	0	1	0
John Waite gent. and practice	1	16	0
wife 4 children and maid	0	6	0
Mrs. Margrett and Deborah Waite	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Thomas Braban and maid	0	2	0
John Blumely and wife	0	2	0
Mary Leeds	0	1	0
John Redford and wife	0	2	0
John Mercer and wife.....	0	2	0
Joseph Janney.....	0	1	0
John Bennett and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Bootle 2 Mrs. Rogers	0	3	0
John Shelmerdine and his man.....	0	2	0
John Wagstaffe and wife child and maid	0	4	0
Mr. Jonas Smethurst and wife and maid	0	3	0
William Walker	0	1	0
James Gunney [Gimney] and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Mary Greene	0	1	0
Alice Worrall	0	1	0
Anne Knowles and Mary Shelmerdine.....	0	2	0
Peter Scholes	0	1	0
Mrs. Walker one sone and foure daughters for 200l. ...	1	6	0
two men and one maid	0	3	0
Mr. Isaac Mosse jun. 100l.....	0	11	0
wife two children and maid	0	4	0
John Clay and wife.....	0	2	0
Mr. George Cooper for 200l.	1	1	0
wife man and maid	0	3	0

MARKET-STREET LANE.

Mr. James Rogers for 100l.	0	11	0
wife one child a man and maid	0	4	0
Thomas Birch and wife and man George	0	3	0
Mr. William Clowes and wife two children and maid ...	0	5	0
Mrs. Holker and daughter.....	0	2	0
Thomas Siddall and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Hannah Mellison.....	0	1	0
Mrs. Winstandley	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Deane	0	1	0
John Leeds and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Walkden and wife.....	0	2	0
Robt. Radcliffe	0	1	0
James Bowker and wife	0	2	0
Anne Unsworth	0	1	0
Mr. Samucll Clowes for 100l.	0	11	0
1 child a maid and Margret Clows (<i>sic</i>)	0	3	0
an apprentice	0	1	0
John Rydings and wife and 3 children.....	0	5	0
Mr. Joshua Browne gent. 300l.....	2	11	0
wife William and Tho: Browne	0	3	0
Joshua Royle and Joseph Leeds	0	2	0
Martha Bordman	0	1	0
Alice Bamford.....	0	1	0
Mr. Samucll Leese 100l	0	11	0
wife and 6 children and 2 maids	0	9	0
Mr. Ralph Hall and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Johnson and 2 sonns	0	3	0
Robert Johnson	0	1	0
Ellen Haslehurst and a maid.....	0	2	0
Elizabeth Moores	0	1	0
Katherine Chandler	0	1	0
John Leeds gent.	1	1	0
Joseph Orme and wife 3 children	0	5	0
Daniell Newman and wife a man and maid	0	4	0
Thomas Gudier and wife a man and child	0	4	0
Widdow Orme and one child a man and maid.....	0	4	0
Myles Bradshaw and wife his sister and a man	0	4	0
John Wynn and wife and man	0	3	0
William Greenwood	0	1	0
Samucll Wharmbey for 100l....	0	11	0
wife and two children.....	0	3	0
two men servants and two maids	0	4	0
Robert Saxton and wife and man	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
John Jepson and wife....	0	2	0
Widdow Bordman Jeremy Bordman Sarah Bordman John Brock	0	4	0
Jonathan Burdsell and wife ...	0	2	0
Edward Wright and wife	0	2	0
James Cheetham and wife	0	2	0
Charles Cooke and wife	0	2	0
Grace Hallows.....	0	1	0
William Lilley and wife	0	2	0
Nicholas Townley and wife.....	0	2	0
Mary Rycroft	0	1	0
Mr. William Plungen for 100%	0	11	0
wife 2 children and maid	0	4	0
Widdow Plungen for 100%.....	0	11	0
Mrs. Hollinworth and 3 children and a maid	0	5	0
Samuel Baley and wife	0	2	0
Edmund Mosse and wife.....	0	2	0
Mrs. Allixand ^r 100%	0	11	0
ffoure children.....	0	4	0
Mr. Radcliffe Allixand ^r gent. 200%	2	1	0
for his practice.	0	15	0
his wife and one maid.....	0	2	0
Samuell Worthington and wife and child and maid (<i>sic</i>)	0	3	0
John Smith and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Thomas Barlow and wife 3 children a man and maid ...	0	7	0
Mr. Daniell Smith and wife and two children	0	4	0
Mrs. Martha Jackson	0	1	0
Isaac Hall and wife and child	0	3	0
Jeremy Bancroft and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Edgley.....	0	1	0
James Newbould and wife	0	2	0
John Aynscoe and wife	0	2	0
John Chue and daught ^r Alice	0	2	0
Richard Gibson's two children ...	0	2	0
Widdow Owen and sone and 2 daut ^{rs}	0	4	0

	£	s.	d.
John Walker and wife	0	2	0
John Chadwick	0	1	0
Widdow Kenyon.....	0	1	0
John Wilcockson and wife.....	0	2	0
Edward Walker and wife	0	2	0
John Crowther and wife.....	0	2	0
Richard Hallowell and wife and two children	0	4	0
Jane Hallowell	0	1	0
Joseph Bancroft and wife	0	2	0
Myles Bower and wife	0	2	0
Mary Brayshaw	0	1	0
Edward Parkinson	0	1	0
Mr. Daniell Leech for 100 <i>l.</i> ...	0	11	0
daughter and maid	0	2	0
Tho. White gent. and practice	1	16	0
wife and 3 children.....	0	4	0
Mr. Tho. Ashe and Margret Wilson.....	0	2	0
Robt. Burton and wife	0	2	0
Peter Bowker and wife	0	2	0
Robt. Brown and wife two sones and a daut ^r two men and a maid	0	8	0
Abraham Bamford for 100 <i>l.</i>	0	11	0
wife and two children.....	0	3	0
Mr. Tildsley and wife	0	2	0
John Greenwood and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Birch and wife ..	0	2	0
John Wolstenhulme and wife and maid ..	0	3	0
James Lilley	0	1	0
Edmund Lilley	0	1	0
Mr. John Gathorne 6 children and maid	0	8	0
Sarah Mather	0	1	0
Mr. Sedgwick and wife 3 children man and maid	0	7	0
Katherine Gathorne and sist ^r	0	2	0
Mr. Osborne and wife two daut ^{rs} and maid	0	5	0
for 30 <i>l.</i> pention from y ^e king (<i>sic</i>)....	1	10	0

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Robert Beswick for 200 <i>l</i>	1	1	0
wife and Joseph Chapman	0	2	0
Thomas Worthington and wife	0	2	0
his sonne and man	0	2	0
Mr. Thomas Radcliffe and wife	0	2	0
his sonne and maid.....	0	2	0
Mrs. Elizabeth Holbrooke	0	1	0
Mrs. Wilson for 200 <i>l</i>	1	1	0
Sonne and daughter	0	2	0
Two maids	0	2	0
Nathan Richardson Edward Lodge	0	2	0
Edward Houlbrooke and Edward Wilson.....	0	2	0
Thomas Buerdsell	0	1	0
Mr. Andrew Wyke for 200 <i>l</i>	1	1	0
A wife 6 children and maid	0	8	0
Mr. Edward Bootle gent. and 200 <i>l</i>(sic)	2	1	0
his wife and maid ...	0	2	0
William Yates	0	1	0
Oliver Keaton and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Barrett	0	1	0
Abraham Ogden and wife	0	2	0
William Hulme and wife 4 children and maid... ..	0	7	0
John Moxon gent. for 100 <i>l</i>(sic)	1	11	0
his wife and two sonnes	0	3	0
two grand children and maid.....	0	3	0
Mrs. Harrison and a maid ..	0	2	0
Thomas Weaver and wife ..	0	2	0
John Loe and wife and two children.....	0	4	0
Ellen Gorton	0	1	0
John Michaelle	0	1	0
Abraham Schofeld ..	0	1	0
Mary Cooper	0	1	0
Edward Jones and Robert Bolde	0	2	0
Mr. Mathew Wilson wife and 3 children	0	5	0
John Whitteker and Margrett Bowers.....	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Henry Moss and wife	0	2	0
John Birkitt and wife	0	2	0
William Burgess and wife	0	2	0
John Keaton and wife.....	0	2	0
Jonathan Ryder	0	1	0
John Towler and wife — Benjamin Holland	0	3	0
Mr. Henry Bayly	0	1	0
2 sons and a maid.....	0	3	0
William Oakes wife and 6 children	0	8	0
Widdow Becke a man and a maid.....	0	3	0
Nathaniell Gaskell gent. and 200 <i>l.</i>(<i>sic</i>)	2	1	0
a man and two maids	0	3	0
Mrs. Runegar	0	1	0
Jonathan Becke wife and maid	0	3	0
Sarah Parr	0	1	0
William Walker and wife	0	2	0
Robert Allexander gent. and for 300 <i>l.</i>	2	11	0
John Allexander	0	1	0
Mrs. Alexand ^r four children and maid ..	0	6	0
Joseph Bruckshaw and wife	0	2	0
Richard Kearsley and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Kearsley	0	1	0
Jeremiah Kearsley and wife	0	2	0
Roger Prestwige and wife	0	2	0
John Thompson and wife for 100 <i>l.</i>	0	12	0
3 children — Tho. Sydebotham	0	4	0
George Jagger.....	0	1	0
Edward Jackson and wife	0	2	0
Richard Bagaly and wife.....	0	2	0
Ralph Baggaly and wife	0	2	0
Charles Walker and wife and Mary Walker.....	0	3	0
Nathaniel Dean and wife and sonn	0	3	0
John Leaver Esq.	5	1	0
ffor 500 <i>l.</i>	2	10	0
James Page and 2 maids.....	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
John Whitehead and wife and man	0	3	0
Thomas Newton and wife	0	2	0
Eliz. Grantham	0	1	0
James Hynd	0	1	0
Thomas Tinker wife and man.....	0	3	0
William Blagshaw and wife	0	2	0
Robert Dickonson	0	1	0
Nathan Sandiforth and wife 3 children 2 apprentices and maid	0	8	0
Ralph Shalcross wife and child	0	3	0
Widdow Sandiforth.....	0	1	0
Joseph Worrall wife and child	0	3	0

MARKETT PLACE.

William Booker and wife and 5 children	0	7	0
A Brewer Ann (<i>sic</i>) apprentice and 2 maids	0	4	0
Jonathan Nicholes for 100%	0	11	0
wife 2 children sister and maid ..	0	5	0
George Seddon — Joseph Shaw.....	0	2	0
Mrs. Antrobus and daughter	0	2	0
Mr. Roger Harper for 100%	0	11	0
wife and 2 children.....	0	3	0
William Hewett gent. for practice.....	1	1	0
Mr. John Greene for 100%.....	0	11	0
a daughter man and maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Joans and Mary Wroe	0	2	0
Mr. Thomas Sandiforde for 100%	0	11	0
Samuell Ellor 4 maids Wm. Mercer Samuell Bennett Brewer	0	7	0
Richard Makon and sister	0	2	0
Henry Hurdus and wife two children and maid	0	5	0
Widdow Shelton and daughter	0	2	0
Josiah Deane	0	1	0
Richard Townley.....	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Margrett Eynsworth	0	1	0
Mr. James Benton and wife 6 children 3 men and maid	0	12	0
Mrs. Holland and 2 children.....	0	3	0
Mr. Jackson — Mary Collier	0	2	0
two men and 3 maids more	0	5	0
Mr. Robert Chadwick for 100l.....	0	11	0
wife a child and maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Mary Banne	0	1	0
Mr. Edward Byrom for 200l.....	1	1	0
wife and 6 children and gent ^t	1	7	0
Mr. John Byroms sonne.....	0	1	0
Joseph Bydam (? Ogdam) apprentice.	0	1	0
One man and two maids.....	0	3	0
Mr. Ralph Shelmerdine and wife sonne and daughter...	0	4	0
Margrett Shelmerdine	0	1	0
Tho. Herrick gent.	1	1	0
James Scott and wife one child a man and maid.....	0	5	0
Mr. Isaac Mosse sen ^r for 100l. ...	0	11	0
Widdow Benson	0	1	0
James Barlow	0	1	0
Abraham Ledgert	0	1	0
John Poole and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Chorlton and maid.....	0	2	0
James Saxton and wife 3 children.....	0	5	0
Ralph Worsley for 100l.....	0	11	0
wife and 2 children a man and maid.....	0	5	0
Mrs. Mary Butler one child and maid	0	2	0
Henry Barlow and wife and 3 children.....	0	5	0
James Beck and wife and 3 children.....	0	5	0
Ann Leach and Thomas Kell.....	0	2	0
Widow Graver.....	0	1	0
Richard Medowcroft	0	1	0
Mr. Thomas Ellison	0	1	0
Mr. Samuell Brookes	0	1	0
wife 5 children a man and maid.....	0	8	0

	£	s.	d.
Peter Tickle and wife and 2 children	0	4	0
two men and 2 maids	0	4	0
Ralph Mellor and wife and two children	0	4	0
Edward Shelton and wife	0	2	0
James Ridgeway and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Holland and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Eyres and wife	0	2	0
Judith Schofeild	0	1	0
Lambert Eaton and wife	0	2	0
3 children..... ..	0	3	0
Cornelius Coppock	0	1	0
Mr. Tho. Beamond and wife a man and maid	0	4	0
Thomas Leese and wife	0	2	0
Richard Dawson	0	1	0
Mr. Thomas ffishor and wife 3 children a man and maid.. .	0	7	0
Benjamin Allred	0	1	0
Mrs. Slator and man	0	2	0
Edward Pendleton and wife and maid	0	3	0
Jeremy Tongue and wife	0	2	0
John Birch and wife and child	0	3	0
Mary Birch	0	1	0
Mr. Taylor watchmaker and wife one child 2 men and a maid	0	6	0

OULD MEALEGATE.

Mr. Michaell Pimlett for 100/.	0	11	0
wife 4 children a maid and apprentice	0	7	0
Mrs. Hilton	0	1	0
Andrew Williamson and wife.....	0	2	0
Widdow Podmore and 3 children	0	4	0
Mr. Ellis Renshaw and wife	0	2	0
one maid	0	1	0
Joseph Stockdale and sister	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Israell Johnson	0	1	0
Mr. Rich. Booth and apprentice	0	2	0
*Elizabeth Redcliffe and a maid.....	0	2	0
Mr. Charles Beswick for 100%.	0	11	0
wife and 2 children	0	3	0
William Robinson and wife daught ^r Anne Wright and an apprentice	0	5	0
Jarvys Staynrod gent. and practice	1	16	0
wife 2 children and a maid.....	0	4	0
Joseph Hallows and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Mr. Edward Graves gent. and for 200%. (sic)	2	1	0
wife and five children	0	6	0
Mr. George Waite and a maid	0	2	0
Widdow Staynrod and maid.....	0	2	0
William Mather and wife and five children	0	7	0
an apprentice and 4 men	0	5	0
Mrs. Makon for 200%. and 2 daughters.....	1	3	0
Margrett Millington	0	1	0
Richard Knowles and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Widdow Bradshaw and 3 children and maid	0	5	0
Thomas Smethurst and wife	0	2	0

CATEATON STREET.

John Watson and wife 4 children and 2 maids	0	8	0
John Odcroft and wife 4 children and maid one appren- tice	0	8	0
Hannah Hoult.....	0	1	0
John Thorpe	0	1	0
Henry Rawstorne and wife	0	2	0
Katherine Chapman widdow	0	1	0
John Button and wife and maid ..	0	3	0
Widdow Johnson	0	1	0
Mrs. ffisher	0	1	0

* "Black Boy" written in the margin.

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Croston.....	0	1	0
John Williamson and wife	0	2	0
Michael Mawd and wife.....	0	2	0
Widdow Prestwich	0	1	0
John Digles for 100% ..	0	11	0
wife and 4 children	0	5	0
one maid	0	1	0
Robert Digles and Dorathy Digles	0	2	0
Joshua Oldam	0	1	0
John Antrobus and wife 5 children and two maids.....	0	9	0

HANGING DITCH.

Mr. Richard Worthington for 100% ..	0	11	0
wife 4 children and two maids	0	7	0
James Wilson and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Samuell Nash and wife ...	0	2	0
Daughter and apprentice ..	0	2	0
Abraham Holland 2 children and maid	0	4	0
James Birch and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Robert Bradshaw and wife	0	2	0
John Grimshaw and wife and two maids	0	4	0
Allixander Ogden and wife	0	2	0
Ellen Jackson and sonne	0	2	0
Edward Cheetham Esq. .	5	1	0
and for his practice.....	1	0	0
wife 2 children and 2 maids	0	5	0
Thomas Brookes	0	1	0
Adam Kenyon and wife	0	2	0
Robert Scholes and wife one child and a maid.....	0	4	0
Phinias Thorpe and wife.....	0	2	0
Mr. John Beswick for 100%.....	0	11	0
wife and 2 children	0	3	0
Mrs. Tongue and a maid	0	2	0
Jeremy Bottomly and wife.....	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
John Houghton and wife	0	2	0
John Sutton and wife.... ..	0	2	0
James Hilton and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Margret and Anne Hunte and maid	0	3	0
Peter Wilson and wife one child and a man.....	0	4	0
Ezikkell Hesketh and wife and a man	0	3	0
Mr. Laine Gaiger..... .. (sic)	2	11	0
Mr. Francis Browne	0	1	0
Mr. Boomet.	0	1	0
Players Mr. Hoult and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Power and wife Mr. Chappill and 2 at Mrs. Stayn- rods	0	5	0
Mr. Choake and wife Mr. Simpson Mr. Kew and wife and a servant	0	6	0
George Pearson gent.	1	1	0
Mr. Thomas Newbey and wife 2 children 3 apprentices and maid ..	0	8	0
Mr. Samueller Buttler for 100l.....	0	11	0
John Houlden and wife	0	2	0
2 children a man and maid	0	4	0
Mrs. Gilliam and maid	0	2	0
Ambrose Yates and wife.....	0	2	0
Robert Oldfeild gent.	1	1	0
and his man.....	0	1	0
Mrs. Dixon and maid	0	2	0
John Crompton and wife	0	2	0
Joshua Crosley and wife.....	0	2	0
Henry Hamer and wife and maid ..	0	3	0
Mrs. Davie	0	1	0
Thomas Bent and wife a man and maid ...	0	4	0
Peter Walker and wife and maid	0	3	0
John Usherwood and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Houghton and wife ...	0	2	0
James Barrett and mother.....	0	2	0
Edmund Mills	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Edmund Wrigley and wife.....	0	2	0
John Percivall and wife ..	0	2	0
Margrett Hughes	0	1	0
John Tong and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Samuell Tipping for 100%.	0	11	0
wife 3 children a man and maid	0	6	0
Edmund Whitehead and wife	0	2	0
James Steevenson	0	1	0
Isaac Hyde and wife and 3 children.....	0	5	0
Job Owen and wife a maid and man....	0	4	0
John Hall.....	0	1	0
ffrancis Schofeld and daughter	0	2	0
William Barlow and wife	0	2	0
John Antrobus jun. and wife one child mother and maid ..	0	5	0
Robert Warde and wife	0	2	0

FFENNELL STREETE.

Widdow Harrison and daughter	0	2	0
Thomas Harrison and wife — Mrs. Digles daughter ..	0	3	0
William Braban and wife and maid	0	3	0
Mrs. Leese and 2 daughters	0	3	0
Mrs. Marlor for 100%	0	11	0
Mrs. Legod and 2 Mrs. Ashtons	0	3	0
Mrs. Gardner — Mrs. Lucie	0	2	0
Mrs. Houlden — Mrs. Hack	0	2	0
Mr. Walker	0	1	0
John Wilcockson and brother—a man and Widdow Worthington	0	4	0
John Hoyle and wife	0	2	0
John Hynde gent.	1	1	0
wyfe a child and maid	0	3	0
William Edge and wife and sonne.....	0	3	0
Mercy Hollingworth two sons and a daughter.....	0	4	0

	£	s.	d.
Mary Rylands	0	1	0
Widdow Schofeild ..	0	1	0
Peter Ryland and wife	0	2	0
francis Bent	0	1	0
Mr. John Clarke and wife one child a maid and man...	0	5	0
Thomas Whalley and wife a child and man.....	0	4	0
Widdow Leigh	0	1	0
Martha Thorpe	0	1	0
John Hill and wife ..	0	2	0
Japhett Hulme and wife.....	0	2	0
Joseph Whitaker.....	0	1	0

TOADE LANE.

James Bancroft and wife sonne and daughter	0	4	0
Mr. Richard Hopwood for 100/..	0	11	0
Sonne and daughter	0	2	0
Ralph Cooper	0	1	0
Richard Rhodes and wife	0	2	0
Mathew Travis and wife.....	0	2	0
Robert Mather	0	1	0
William Baguly and wife ...	0	2	0
Richard Johnson and wife	0	2	0
John Hudson and man	0	2	0
John Evans and wife and maid	0	3	0
Samuell Morton ..	0	1	0
Mrs. Lancashire	0	1	0
Mrs. Bordman and maid	0	2	0

HYDE CROSSE.

John Widdow and wife	0	2	0
2 maids and Margrett Suthworth	0	3	0
John Loton and wife	0	2	0
John Widdows jun.....	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Peter Wagstaffe and wife and man	0	3	0
Mr. George Lloyd for 100 <i>l</i>	0	11	0
wife 5 children and maid	0	7	0
two apprentices	0	2	0
Mr. Crowther and wife	0	2	0
one maid	0	1	0
Thomas Simest ^r and wife	0	2	0
Henry Litherland and wife	0	2	0
Abraham Joanes and wife and maid	0	3	0
Isaac Joanes and wife.....	0	2	0
Sisley Bentley.....	0	1	0
Edward Booth and wife	0	2	0
John Clayton and wife	0	2	0
Silvest ^r Hyde and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Moston Gaiger.....	2	11	0
wife and daughter	0	2	0
William Bradshaw and wife	0	2	0
John Rowbottom and wife	0	2	0
Josiah Jesse and wife	0	2	0
Ashton Marlor and wife.....	0	2	0
Widdow Greaves and sonne	0	2	0
Henry Brock	0	1	0
Daniell Clayton and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Heyfeild and sonne	0	2	0
William Whitehead and wife.....	0	2	0
Daniell Whitehead	0	1	0
ffrancis Greenacres	0	1	0
John Worke and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Morris and wife... ..	0	2	0
Richard Morris and wife	0	2	0
Edward Walker and wife	0	2	0
Mr. James Hilton gent.	1	1	0
wife and maid	0	2	0
Joshua Wilde	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Joseph Yates Esq. and practice	6	1	0
his wife and three children.....	0	4	0
A man and two maids	0	3	0
Joseph Kindor and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Widdow Turner	0	1	0
Richard Williamson and wife a man and maid.....	0	4	0
Richard Lurrimore	0	1	0
Mr. Richard Neild for 100%.	0	11	0
wife a maid and 3 men	0	5	0
Robert Thomas and Myles Neild	0	3	0
John Smith and wife 2 apprentices and man	0	5	0
William Peake and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Barnes and maid and foure children	0	6	0

ANCOATES LANE.

John Cartwright and wife a man and maid	0	4	0
Richard Morte gent.	1	1	0
wife a man and maid	0	3	0
Oswald Mosley Esq.....	5	1	0
wife and 4 children	0	5	0
4 men and 2 maids	0	6	0
Mrs. Jane Mosley widdow to Nich: Mosley Esq.....	1	14	0
two daughters 100%. each	1	2	0
A maid servant	0	1	0
Thomas Tildsley and wife	0	2	0
Lawrance Holland and wife and daughter.....	0	3	0
William Baley and wife and daughter	0	3	0
Edward Charnock and wife.....	0	2	0
John Robinson and wife.....	0	2	0
John Baxter and wife	0	2	0
Robert Robinson and wife and sonne	0	3	0
John Worthington 2 daughters and man.. ..	0	4	0

COLLYHURST.

	£	s.	d.
John Shaw and wife and maid	0	3	0
Robert Bardsley and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Bardsley and wife 3 children and maid	0	6	0
Richard Chaderton and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Bredbury and wife.....	0	2	0
John Rigbey and wife.....	0	2	0
John Andrew and wife	0	2	0
John Whitaker and daughter.....	0	2	0
Margret Dawson and Mary Hallewell	0	2	0

MILLGATE.

Thomas Heys and wife 4 men	0	6	0
Thomas Evans and wife	0	2	0
Bryan Rawson and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Elisse Crompton and wife 3 children and maid ...	0	6	0
John Worsley and wife	0	2	0
Peter Assmoll and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Herrup and wife	0	2	0
John Hilton and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Peter Maddock and wife.....	0	2	0
James Hilton and wife	0	2	0
George Westfeild and wife.....	0	2	0
John Barlow and maid	0	2	0
Robert Collinge	0	1	0
Widdow Crompton for 200%.	1	1	0
William Crompton for 100%.	0	11	0
2 men and 1 maid	0	3	0
Mr. Kiniston minister	1	1	0
wife and child	0	2	0
Anne Evans and maid.....	0	2	0
James Sandiforth and wife.....	0	2	0
William Worsley and wife	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
ffrancis Wrigley jun. and wife	0	2	0
Ralph ffletcher and wife	0	2	0
ffrancis Wrigley sen. and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Bowker and wife 3 sonnes and daughter	0	6	0
James Whitfeild his man	0	1	0
Ellen Taylor.....	0	1	0
Richard Percivall and wife	0	2	0
William Ingham and wife	0	2	0
Roger Bent and wife	0	2	0
Ralph Thompston and wife.....	0	2	0
William Dawson and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Waterhouse and wife	0	2	0
William Baguly and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Mrs. Drake Esq ^{rs} widdow and for 100l. ...	2	4	4
ffoure children one man and maid.....	0	6	0
Old Mrs. Yates for 100l.	0	11	0
Hugh Chad and wife	0	2	0
Richard Thorpe and wife	0	2	0
John Stockport for 100l.....	0	11	0
for his wife ..	0	1	0
William Anchors and wife 7 children	0	9	0
Widdow Mason	0	1	0
Bryan Robinson and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Barlow's wife.....	0	1	0
John Pelton and wife	0	2	0
Myles Shuttleworth and wife.....	0	2	0
James Williamson and wife	0	2	0
Hugh Cooke and wife.. ..	0	2	0
John Hyde and wife	0	2	0
Jeremy Chorlton and wife 2 children a man and a maid	0	6	0
John Mercer and wife.....	0	2	0
Richard Hill and wife.....	0	2	0
Richard Allcock and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Thomas Collier and wife.....	0	2	0
William Hibbert and wife and daughter	0	3	0

	£	s.	d.
Humphrey Marlor gent.....	1	1	0
wife and maid	0	2	0
Samuell Eaton gent.	1	1	0
wife 4 children and maid	0	6	0
Robert Heaton gent.	1	1	0
Peter Heywood for 100l.....	0	11	0
wife 3 children and maid	0	5	0
John Seddon and wife and maid	0	3	0
Ralph Pyecroft for 100l.....	0	11	0
wife and child	0	2	0
Jonathan Barber and wife 4 children and maid	0	7	0
Robert Jackson and wife	0	2	0
John Worthington and wife 4 children and apprentice..	0	7	0
Thomas Blackshaw and wife	0	2	0
John Lyall and sonne and daughter	0	3	0
one man	0	1	0
Widdow Sutton for 300l... ..	1	11	0
A maid and tabler and daughter	0	3	0
James Travis for 100l.....	0	11	0
wife and maid	0	2	0
John Lomax and Anne Livesley	0	2	0
Ralph Gorse and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Madin and wife.....	0	2	0
Mr. ffancis Cartwright for 200l.	1	1	0
wife and maid	0	2	0
George Baiteman and wife.....	0	2	0
John Baiteman	0	1	0
James Leese and wife 2 children	0	4	0
Widdow Hilton	0	1	0
George Heys and maid	0	2	0
William Bancroft and wife and apprentice	0	3	0
Ralph Guest and wife	0	2	0
Edward Richardson and wife and sonne	0	3	0
Richard Wright and wife	0	2	0
Lovedy Walker and daughter.....	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Shaw for 300l.....	1	11	0
5 children and maid	0	6	0
Michael Nicholls	0	1	0
James Strettell and wife apprentice and maid ...	0	4	0
John Brooks and wife and daughter ..	0	3	0
John Thorpe	0	1	0
Mr. Thomas Warburton for 100l.	0	11	0
his wife 2 children a man and maid	0	5	0
Mr. Edmund Johnston wife and daughter	0	3	0
John Whitteker and wife	0	2	0
Widdow Coleburne	0	1	0
Robert Hilton and wife	0	2	0
Edward Ashton and wife	0	2	0
Joseph Gillman and son	0	2	0
Richard Strettell and wife	0	2	0
John Shelmerdyne	0	1	0
Mr. Seth Broxupp	0	1	0
Mr. William Edmundson for 100l.....	0	11	0
wife a child and maid	0	3	0
William Wakefeild and wife	0	2	0
William Woods and wife	0	2	0
James Kay and wife	0	2	0
John Rattlife and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Werden 1 maid	0	2	0
Robert Delv's and wife 2 children and maid	0	5	0
Robert Oldham and wife	0	2	0
Henry Wharmby and wife	0	2	0
Samuell Symcoke Taylor ...	0	1	0
Peter Tyer and wife	0	2	0
William Barrough gent.	1	1	0
one child two maids	0	3	0
2 Mr. Cheethams 2 Mr. Pickfords.....	0	4	0
Mr. John Wardle and wife for 100l.	0	12	0
3 maids and cooke man	0	4	0
Mr. Pendleton gent.....	1	1	0

	£	s.	d.
Mr. John Newton and wife	0	2	0
2 children and a maid.....	0	3	0
Richard Morton gent.....	1	1	0
Mr. Robert Booths sonn	0	1	0
Mrs. Isabell Mosley and 2 sisters	0	3	0
John Sandiford gent. and for 200%.	2	1	0
his wife a man and maid.....	0	3	0
John Chorleton gent. wife and maid.....	1	3	0
James Hilton and wife 4 children a man and a maid ...	0	8	0
Widdow Hilton	0	1	0
James Smethurst and wife for 100%.	0	12	0
3 children and maid	0	4	0
Martha Taylor 100%. one child and maid	0	13	0
Mrs. Holland	0	1	0
Margrett Lewis	0	1	0
Daniel Thorpe and wife	0	2	0
Bryan ffell wife and 2 daughters	0	4	0
John Lockett and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Ashton gent. 2 sisters	1	3	0
Samuel Ashton	0	1	0
Roland Briggs and wife	0	2	0
Thomas Wrenshaw and wife and apprentice.....	0	3	0
a man and a maid	0	2	0
Henry Wood and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Beswicke for 100%.	0	11	0
a sonn a daughter and maid	0	3	0
Mr. John Beswicke 100%.	0	11	0
Mrs. ffrackland and daughter	0	2	0
Tablers			
Mrs. Latham — Mrs. Bradshaw	0	2	0
Mrs. Gartside — Mrs. Allexandr	0	2	0
Mrs. Tattlocke — Mrs. fferris.....	0	2	0
Mrs. Wood — Mrs. Hollingworth.....	0	2	0
Mrs. Vallantyne — Mrs. Schofield	0	2	0
Mrs. Thorpe — Mrs. Empson	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Hall — Mrs. Chetham	0	2	0
Mrs. Frankland Scofield — Mrs. Hyde.....	0	2	0
Mrs. Sarah Frankland — Mrs. Wright	0	2	0
Mrs. Ann Leach — 2 Mrs. Pricketts.....	0	3	0
Thomas Ashley and wife.....	0	2	0
Samuell Pendleton for 100l.	0	11	0
his wife a child and maid	0	3	0
Widdow White a man and maid	0	3	0
Richard Barns.....	0	1	0
James White	0	1	0
Joseph Jerden and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Howerth widdow of An Esq. and for 100l. .	2	4	4
a grandchild and maid	0	2	0
Edmund Travis for 200l.	1	1	0
his wife 3 children and maid	0	5	0
Richard Booth and wife	0	2	0
John Bradshaw and wife	0	2	0
George Piggott Esq.....	5	1	0
for Practice... ..	1	0	0
his wife 2 children 3 maids one man.....	0	7	0
Edward Walker and wife	0	2	0
George Walker and wife.	0	2	0
Richard Monson and wife	0	2	0

HUNTSBANCKE.

George Corbesley senr: for 200l.	1	1	0
his wife and maid	0	2	0
George Corbesley junr: and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Illingworth and maid.....	0	2	0
Mrs. Hastead Ann Esqr's widdow.	1	14	4
Richard Percivall gent.	1	1	0
wife one child and 3 maids.....	0	5	0
Thomas Moors and wife	0	2	0
Richard Hampson and wife	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Robert Hallows and wife	0	2	0
William Holland.....	0	1	0
Jonathan Shirte and wife	0	2	0
Edward Hamer wife and son	0	3	0
Samuel Knutsford and wife	0	2	0
Izaake Bradshaw and wife	0	2	0
James Astle and wife	0	2	0
Mr. Allen his wife and Izaake Harper	0	3	0
James Steevenson and daughter	0	2	0
Thomas Moss and wife	0	2	0
Robert Steevenson and wife 5 children.....	0	7	0
George Grymshaw and wife and maid ..	0	3	0
Arnald Lydall and wife 3 children and maid.....(sic)	0	5	0
Phillipp Burnett and wife	0	2	0
John Davenport.	0	1	0
John Claton and wife and 2 sons	0	4	0
Joshua Wood and wife ...	0	2	0
Robert Cooke and wife	0	2	0
Mrs. Pearson	0	1	0
Raph Egerton gentleman	1	1	0
Mr. Emmett.....	0	1	0

CHURCH YARD SYDE.

Mr. John Hawood's wife and 6 children	0	7	0
one man one maid	0	2	0
Olliver Lomax wife and 2 men	0	4	0
Robert Wyld and wife	0	2	0
George Hyde and wife	0	2	0
Edward Porter and wife	0	2	0
William Higgenson and wife	0	2	0
Peter Smethurst and wife	0	2	0
Mr. James Vanbobbert for 200l.	1	1	0
wife 2 children and 2 maids ..	0	5	0
Thomas Hall and wife.....	0	2	0

	£	s.	d.
Abraham Taylor	0	1	0
James Roson and wife	0	2	0
Richard Seddon and wife	0	2	0
John Chaderton and wife	0	2	0
Adam Hill wife and sister	0	3	0

Assesed p Us

John Lightboun gent. and for 100 <i>l</i>	1	11	0
Michael flitcroft gent. and for 100 <i>l</i>	1	11	0
Samuel Drinkwater.....	1	1	0
John Heywood	0	11	0

Total £337 14 8

Appointed Collectors,

Mr. Benjamin Bradshaw,

Mr. Josiah Walker.

NOTE.

The actual addition is 5*s*., more than stated above, viz. 337*l*. 19*s*. 8*d*.

The enumeration gives four persons more than those rated at 1*s*. for the Poll.

ERRATA.

Page 25, line 23, *for* Legod *read* Legoe.

Page 28, line 21, *for* 1 14 0 *read* 1 14 4.

REMARKS.

The document here printed bears an uncomplimentary endorsement in a contemporary hand writing :

“Generation of Vipers.”

It is not a complete census of the population of Manchester in 1696, as the act of parliament (1 William and Mary, cap. 13), by which this taxation “by a poll or otherwise” was decreed, exempts persons receiving alms of the parish, and their children under sixteen, all children of day labourers, and of servants in husbandry under sixteen, and persons who by their poverty are exempt from contributions to church and poor rates; also the children under sixteen of persons having four or more, and who are not worth in lands, goods or chattels 50*l*. By this act gentlemen having estates of 300*l*. or more are required to pay 2*s*. per *£*; 1*s*. per *£* is charged on profits of office; pensions exceeding 20*l*. pay 3*s*. per *£*; advocates and practitioners of physic 3*s*. per *£*; servants’ wages of 3*l*., 1*s*. per *£*; and under 3*l*., 6*d*. per *£*; 10*s*. per 100*l*. is charged on all who have any personal estate, whether in debts owing to them or otherwise; while every one except those exempt is required to pay 1*s*. each. Various ranks and degrees are also chargeable upon a graduated scale, and provision is made for doubly charging persons having several mansions.

The assessors in Manchester appear to have levied the poll tax of 1*s*. except in cases of accidental omission. The only double assessments to this tax are those of Mrs. Goolden and

her maid (the former being also doubly assessed on her personalty) on the ground of their being Roman Catholics. The Warden of the Collegiate Church is assessed at 5*l.*, being a Doctor of Divinity, and 5*l.* for his benefice. Mr. Kiniston is the only other person named as a minister of religion; but in "Mr. Henry Newcombe," assessed also at 1*l.*, we recognise the Reverend founder of the Presbyterian congregation in Manchester; and in Mr. Finch, another ejected minister, who settled in Manchester and officiated some time at Birch. Mr. George Ogden, residing in Deansgate and rated as a gentleman, may have been one of the Fellows of the Collegiate Church, as possibly may also have been Thomas Hall living in Churchyard side, rated to the poll only; but no entries on the roll answer to the names of the two other Fellows, Francis Mosley and Richard Warburton. In William Barrough gent., residing in Millgate, we may probably have Mr. Barrow the Head Master of the Grammar School.

Five esquires pay 5*l.* each, in addition to the poll tax, viz., John Leaver, who is rated on a personalty of 500*l.*; Oswald Mosley, who returns no personal property; and Joseph Yates, George Piggott, and Edward Cheetham, each rated at 1*l.* for their practice, being doubtless barristers.

Six other men rated for practice are all styled gentlemen, and pay 15*s.* each, viz., John Berrow, Nathaniel Leech, John Waite, Mr. White, James Staynrod, and Radcliffe Alexander, the latter being also taxed on a personalty of 200*l.* It does not appear what professions these persons followed. If any of them were medical men they cannot have enjoyed the rank of Doctor of Physic, or they would have been liable to the same rate as a Doctor of Divinity. One person has the words "for practice" after his name, while no tax upon it was levied. Two "gaigers" are charged at 50*s.* each, and one pensioner of 30*l.* per annum pays 1*s.* per £, while the act appears to authorise the collection of 3*s.* per £.

One of the assessors, Samuel Drinkwater, is rated at 1*l*. without its being stated whether this was on personal property or in consideration of rank. This is also the case with Mr. Henry Newcombe and Mr. Finch. Wages and other income chargeable by the act appear to have escaped taxation except in the cases above cited.

The act prescribes a tax of 1*l*. on every person above sixteen years of age writing himself gentleman. Of such there are assessed fifty-two; about half of this number also paying on personalty or for practice.

Only one hundred and eighteen persons pay a rate upon their personalty. John Leaver Esq. is the only man rated at 500*l*.; Thomas Minshall the only one at 400*l*.; there are seven assessed at 300*l*., four of whom claim the title of gentlemen, and three of whom are ladies; thirty-four are rated at 200*l*.; seventy-five at 100*l*.; of these there are three ladies, Mrs. Shuttleworth, Mrs. Drake, and Mrs. Howerth, who are also taxed with 1*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. each as esquires' widows; Mrs. Mosley and Mrs. Halstead, also esquires' widows, paying nothing in additional for personalty, though Mrs. Mosley's two daughters do so.

The domestic economy of the town seems to have been frugal. In 151 cases women servants only are recorded; in 66 cases, both men and women.

Where women servants *only* were employed, there were

133 cases with 1 servant	=	133
16 " 2 servants	=	32
1 " 3 "	=	3
1 * " 4 "	=	4
151		172

* Probably an inn, a brewer being also named.

Where men servants also were kept, there were

50	cases with 1 maid	=	50
11	„ 2 maids	=	22
5	„ 3 „	=	15
66			87

Total number of women servants, 259

There appear to have been 35 cases keeping 36
men servants, where no women servants are recorded.

Where women were also employed, there appear to be

52	cases of 1 man	=	52
12	„ 2 men	=	24
1	„ 3 „	=	3
3	„ 4* „	=	12
1	„ 1 journeyman†	=	1
2	described as brewers	=	2
106			130

Where apprentices are recorded, there are

18	cases of persons having 1	=	18
1	„ „ 2	=	2
1	„ „ 3	=	3
20			23

In one house the names of 12 ladies, boarders (“tablers”), are recited.

* One of them being a man cook.

† Some of the other men servants were probably journeymen, but only one case is so described.

There appear to have been 54 widows and 23 widowers having children living with them, viz., with

1 child	...	35	=	35
2 children	...	24	=	48
3 „	...	10	=	30
4 „	...	6	=	24
5 „	...	2	=	10
77				147

and 174 married couples, having

1 child	..	57	=	57
2 children	...	45	=	90
3 „	...	33	=	99
4 „	...	19	=	76
5 „	...	11	=	55
6 „	...	7	=	42
7 „	...	2	=	14
174				433

Total number of children living with their parents, 580

Besides grandchildren..... 7

360 married couples appear to have been without children living with them. Total number of married couples, 534.

It is not easy to estimate what was the total population of the town of Manchester at the date of this poll. Judging from the table of births, deaths and marriages, there must have been but little change in the parish during the previous period of a hundred years, in two of which there had been a great waste of life from the plague. The survey of 1650, quoted by Aiken, describes the town as a mile in length, and as containing forty-eight subsidy men, besides a great number of burgesses; but no enumeration of the population is recorded until 1710, when it was stated to be 8,000.

The growth of the town after this time was rapid, the returns of 1773 giving 24,386 as the population of the township; and that of 1788, 42,821.

The registers of the mother church yield very uncertain data for estimating the total population of the township, which is only one of twenty-nine comprised in the parish of Manchester.

The rate-books also afford no assistance in drawing a conclusion on this subject, as the early series of them is imperfect, and as none are preserved in the overseers' office of prior date to the year 1706.

The rate laid in that year was "eleven pence in the pound upon feild land, and tenn pence in the pound upon house land." The following table gives a summary of the assessment. It will be observed that no new streets are named beyond those given in the "Pole Book" of 1690, nor are there any in the rate-book of 1712. In that of 1716 "St. Ann's Square" appears. In 1717 "Cross" is a name substituted for "Market Place." In 1719 "New Street" occurs. In 1721 and 1723 there is no new name. The Roll of 1724 is imperfect, but we there find "High Street," "Knott Mill Lane," and "King Street;" "St. James's Square" being mentioned incidentally. In this last-named quarter, however, no inhabitants are named in the Rolls either of 1725 or 1729.

In the assessment of 1706 one Joseph Dand is described as a quaker, and William Browne as a Scotchman. Trades are not frequently named. Madam Birch of Birch is rated in Smithy Door; Madam Guillian in Hanging Ditch; Madam Drake in Milngate; and Madam Lightbowne as one of John Kay's tenants. George Pigott Esq. in Churchyard Side, and Robert Lever of Alkington Hall Esq. for land in Market Street Lane, where Nathan Sandiford lived. Sir Robert Booth's heirs have land in Market Place, and Butterworth of Belfield in Milngate. The only inn named is the Nag's Head, Deansgate.

A TAX

ASSESSED UPON THE BURGESSES AND OTHERS THE INHABITANTS OF THE
TOWNE OF MANCHESTER &C. &C. 15TH MAY, 1706:

Amount Levied.	Assess- ments.	Namely:			Locality.
		For Personal Estate* only.	For Tene- ments only.	For both Tene- ments and Personal Estate.	
£93 6 1½	80	5	51	24	Deansgate.
35 16 1	31	2	20	9	Smithy Door.
27 3 3	37	2	29	6	St. Mary's Gate and Conduit.
67 19 5	68	4	54	10	Market Street Lane.
28 7 0	29	1	22	6	Market Place and Shambles Side.
14 2 10	24	1	19	4	Old Mealgate.
5 14 2	7	0	3	4	Cateaton Street.
5 7 7	7	0	5	2	Churchyard Side.
20 6 10	33	6	20	7	Hanging Ditch.
6 9 4½	20	1	15	4	Fennel Street.
26 4 9	27	0	21	6	Hyde's Cross and Toad Lane.
2 6 0	11	0	11	0	Hunt's Bank.
43 5 6	72	4	51	17	Milnegate.
5 16 0	6	0	6	0	Newton Lane and Ancoats.*
5 4 6	5	0	5	0	Collyhurst.†
387 9 5	457	26	332	99	<i>Tenants of</i>
	14	...	...	...	Oswald Mosley Esq. and mother.
	6	...	...	...	Remainder of Mr. Hartley's.
	19	...	...	...	Mr. Henry Dickanson.
	2	...	...	...	Mr. John Kay of Salford.
	6	...	...	...	Mr. Joseph Wagstaff.
	2	...	...	...	Mr. Greenfield.
	2	...	...	...	Mr. Joshua Oldham's land.
	9	...	...	...	Mr. Thomas Butterworth.
	13	...	...	...	Lawyer Chetham.
	5	...	...	...	Mr. Raphe Worsley.‡
	10	...	...	...	Mr. Charles Worsley.
	16	...	...	...	Sir John Bland.
	1	...	...	...	Mr. Goodall's land by his own entaile.
	1	...	...	...	Mrs. Goodall's land by her own entaile.
	19	...	...	...	Mr. Stephen Fox.
45 0 3	125§				
432 9 8					

* In the assessments of 1717 and afterwards, we find, under "Newton Lane and Ancoats," a tenement called Langley Hall, belonging to the family of Beswick. The property held by them in that locality appears to have been purchased from the heirs of Joseph Leech after 1706, and there is no mention of Langley Hall before 1717.

† The demesne of Collyhurst was in the tenure of John Lever Esq. at this time.

‡ Worsley of Platt.

§ There do not appear to have been separate tenants for every one of these assessments.

ANALYSIS OF THE POLL BOOK.

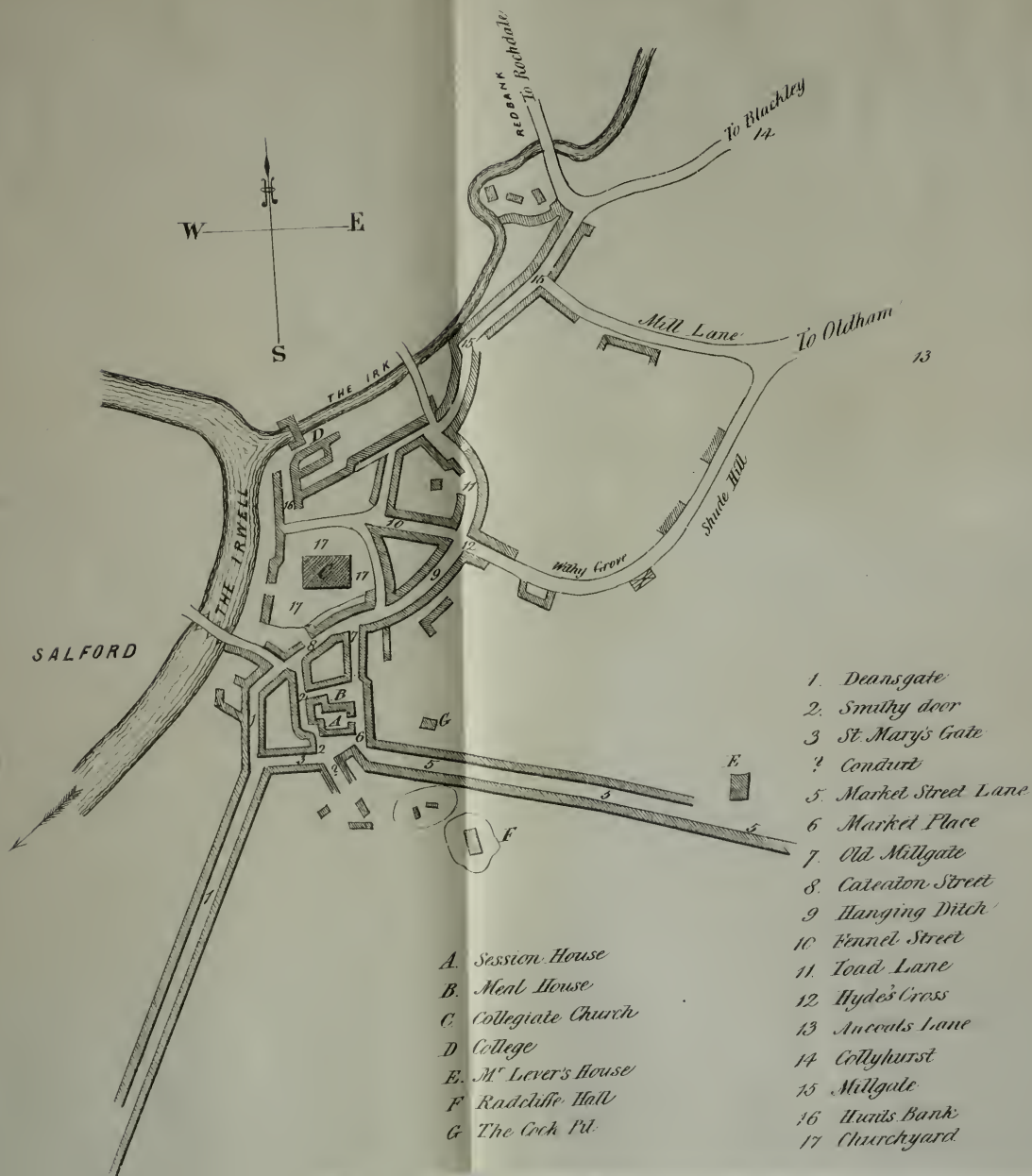
	Persons enumerated.	Poll tax levied.	Assessment of dignities, estate, and income.	Number of persons so assessed.	Surcharge on Roman Catholics.		As D.D.	For a Benefice	As a Minister	Gaugers at 50/.	For Practice.		For a Pension of £30.	Not described but rated at £1.	Esquires at £5.	Esq.'s Widows at £1/13/4.	Gentle- men at £1.	On personalty at 10/ per £.					
					Poll of 1/ each.	On £300.					At £1.	At 15/.						£100.	£200.	£300.	£400.	£500.	
Deansgate	474	£ s. d. 23 13 0*	£ s. d. 48 15 4	35	2	1	1	1	...	...	2	...	2	...	1	14	13	7	3	...	...		
Smithy Door	147	7 7 0	21 10 0	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	7	10	...	1	...		
St. Mary Gate	45	2 5 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		
Conduit	115	5 15 0	6 5 0	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	5	2	...	...	...		
Market Street Lane	446	22 5 0*	33 0 0	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	1	8	11	6	2	...	1		
Market Place	208	10 7 0	7 10 0	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	7	1	...	...	...		
Old Millgate	79	3 19 0	5 15 0	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	...	...	...		
Cateaton Street	51	2 11 0	0 10 0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...		
Hanging Ditch	171	8 11 0	12 10 0	8	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	2	4	...	...	...		
Fennell Street	58	2 18 0	1 10 0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...		
Toad Lane	26	1 6 0	0 10 0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...		
Hyde's Cross	113	5 13 0	10 10 0	5	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	...	...	...		
Ancoats Lane and Collyhurst	69	3 8 0*	8 13 4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	2	...	...	...		
Millgate	420	21 0 0	34 6 8	32	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1	2	9	16	4	2	...		
Hunt's Bank	68	3 8 0	4 13 4	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	1	...	...		
Church Yard Side	41	2 1 0	1 0 0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...		
Assessors	4	0 4 0	4 10 0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	3	...	...	...		
	2535	126 11 0	201 8 8	165	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	6	1	3	5	5	52	75	34	7	1	1	201
		201 8 8			2/	£1/10/	£5	£5	£1	£5	£3	£4/10/	£1/10	£3	£25	£8/6/8	£52	£37/10	£34	£10/10	£2	£2/10/	36†
		327 19 8																				165	

* Poll tax short charged.

† Double returns:

As Roman Catholics, double poll tax	2
one of whom doubly assessed in £300	1
The Warden charged as Doctor of Divinity and for Benefice	1
Esquires, charged also for practice	3
Esquires' widows, charged also for estate	3
Of fifty-two gentlemen charged for practice, one of whom also paid on estate of £200	6
for estate of £100	6
" £200	8
" £300	4
" £400	1
Esquire charged on £500	1

Manchester about A.D. 1650



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